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GADABA

THE LANGUAGE AND THE PEOPLE

Language Analysis :

Dr. VAVILALA SUBBA RAO

Socio Economic Study :

D. RADHA KRISHNA PATNAIK

1941 P.C.P

Sri Papayaradhyam Sahiti Kendram
AMARAVATHI

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GADABA

The Language & The People

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*A Grammatical analysis of
a tribal language*

GADABA

*As spoken in the village
'Rajacheruvu Valasa'
A Hamlet of Bobbili
in Vijayanaqaram District of
Andhra Pradesh*

**Survey & Analysis
Dr. VAVILALA SUBBA RAO**

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assistance of*

TELUGU UNIVERSITY, HYDERABAD



PUBLISHER'S NOTE

“Sri Papayaradhyā Sahiti Kendram” has hitherto published books on Spiritual topics and Literature. By deciding to publish a descriptive grammar of a Tribal language; the Kendra is stepping into a new area.

This is a language spoken in the Agency areas of Andhra Pradesh. It is a member of a rare Linguistic family. Dr. V. Subba Rao is a member of our “Kendram”. These are the factors that prompted us to undertake the publication of this book.

We are very much thankful to the Telugu University, for extending the financial assistance to publish this book.

Sri Papayaradhyā Sahiti Kendram

To

Kalaprapoorna

Prof. G. J. SOMAYAJI

whose dexterity and deftness in teaching have inspired the students of successive generations to take to the analytical skills even in the prosaic science like philology

AND

whose foresight laid the foundation for the scientific study of Linguistics among Telugu scholars.

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Date 18-5-92

In Varilie Subbarao who is a head of the Telugu
Dept in a. t. its college it may be is proficient in Telugu
history which is also deeply interested in connecting
research. In addition to his teaching
and other duties, he has taken great pains in examining
and the Gudaba language in the Guntur and Visakhapatnam
districts. There are two distinct groups speaking this language
One of them is distinctly Gudaba while the other has been
deemed to be Munda.

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vocabulary into the grammatical categories, separated the root
material from the prefixes and suffixes, and I examined
its sentence structure, as well. She has separated the loans
from Telugu and the Munda Gudaba, thus collecting a mass
of uncontaminated forms. This work is rich with examples
fully translated into English and useful for further research
if any. This deserves publication by any linguistic
society and I am sure it will attract the attention of
linguists.

By. G. Somayaji

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Date : 18-5-82

Sri Vavilala Subba Rao garu, M.A; Head of the Telugu Department, Arts College at Amaravathi, is proficient in Telugu Literary criticism and is also deeply interested in conducting researches in linguistic studies. In addition to his teaching and other duties, he has taken great pains in examining the Gadaba language spoken in the Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts. There are two distinct groups speaking this language. One of them is distinctly Dravidian while the other has been declared to be Munda.

Sri Rao has collected the vocabulary, sifted it, analysed the vocables into the grammatical categories, separated the root material from the prefixes and suffixes, and examined its sentence structure, as well. He has separated the loans from Telugu and the Munda Gadaba, thus collecting a mass of uncontaminated forms. His work is rich with examples fully translated into English and useful for further researches, if any. This deserves publication by any linguistic society and I am sure, it will attract the attention of linguists.

G. J. SOMAYAJI

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PROLOGUE

I am a novice to the science of Linguistics and its allied branches of knowledge. While I was doing my post-graduation in Telugu Language and Literature during 1961-63, at Andhra University, Waltair, my interest in the subject was roused by the inspiring lectures of Prof. G. J. Somayaji. The interest was sustained thro, a trip organised to Araku Valley by Dr. T. Donappa where he got us acquainted to the people of "Kuvi and Kubi", languages and spent about 2 to 3 days in their company. He taught us casually the methods of collecting and analysing the Linguistic data. The training was meant only to enhance our interest, but not to acquire the expertise. I am not even in the gateway of the magnificant masion of linguistics.

My quest for a job has drawn me to Bobbili in 1965. My acquaintance there with Shri D. R. Patnaik, the then Head of the Department of Economics, R.S.R.K. Ranga Rao College, Bobbili, is very valuable in my persuit. He is an enthusiast in transforming the inspired ideals into spirited actions though the steps are faltering. While visiting the hamlet of the Gadabas he took me along with him. The interest I developed in their language prodded me on to this immature study. Inspite of few advices I sought from the renowned philologist, Prof. T. Donappa, M. A. Ph.D. the then Head of the Dept. of Telugu Andhra University I could not do it comprehensively.

Unfortunately the data collected and the analysis completed about the "Gadaba" language was lost in to-to during a train journey. Attracted by the virginity of the subject, I made a fresh effort. As "Gadabas" are bilingual the preparation of the questionnaire and the collection of the data are done in Telugu only. As per the dictates of my mentor Prof. G.J. Somayaji, I translated it into English in 1981. He went thro the entire script and

encouraged me a lot. I have to blame only my laziness and incompetence for the delayed publication of this book.

The munificent grant given by the Telugu University is largely responsible for the publication of this book though belatedly. I am aware of my limitations, viz: the data collected is not comprehensive and not flawless and the analysis is not in accordance with the format of modern linguistics. Though a period of twenty five years has elapsed since my maiden attempt, no body seems to have taken up the neglect language so far. As such I ventured now atleast to bring out this edition so that it may be of some use to the students of linguistics. The vocabulary obtained is only from the Gadabas of "Raja Cheruvu Valasa", a hamlet near Bobbili. The data collected is not sufficient. The diligent analysis of the vocabulary; and different sentence patterns and the stories narrated by native speakers may go a longway in throwing some light on the language & grammar of this tribe.

My migration from Bobbili to a faroff place and the changes in my attitude have damped my interest in the matter. But the happy days I spent in conversing with the Gadabas, their jokes, witticisms and the repartes exchanged during the process of collecting the data will remain ever green in my memory. The interest evinced by the white collared people in Gadabas and their language, has enhanced their selfrespect and that could be read on their faces. Their cherished hope that I would some day write books for them in their language reminds me of the trottering looks of bewildered birds when they notice strangers. Their frank nature, unstained laughter and the pleasure they derived by gathering around us have all become an integral part of my emotional being and contributed in noless a measure to my happy memories.

Though the name is mine the efforts behind are those of many.

The main inspiration behind this is Sri D. R. Patnaik, the then Head of the Department of Economics, of R.S.R.K. Ranga Rao College, Bobbili. Sri S. Vinayabhushan, Head of the Dept. English of the same college is my close companion in this venture. The Head priest of the Gadaba Tribe, Sri Ithaiah is my Gadaba language teacher. The students of the college are my catalysts. Prof. S.V. Joga Rao and Prof. G.J. Somayaji are the people behind my resurreктив effort.

Though he is not very much acquainted with the subject, Sri P.V. Sivarama Murthy, Head of the Department of English, R.V.V.N. College, Amaravathi, has readily accepted the laborious task of finalising my English translation out of his love for the pursuit of research and the friendly bond that exists between us. I am very much grateful to him for this.

As long as this book remains useful in linguistics, I shall remain grateful to all those who extended their active cooperation in making this maiden venture of mine see the light of the day.

But for the financial assistance extended by the Telugu University, Hyderabad, the publication of this book would not have become possible.

The Staff of Sri Lakshmi Ganapathi Printers took all the pains to print this book in a stipulated time.

Last, but not the least, I express my deep debt of gratitude to "Sri Papayardhya Sahiti Kendram" for their ready acceptance to publish this book.

I GADABA. ITS FAMILY

The data for the analysis of this language was collected at "Raya Cheruvu Valasa" near Bobbili a town in Vijayanagaram District of Andhra Pradesh. The influence of Telugu, which is the spoken language of this area, can be seen to a great extent on this language.

This Village is entairly a Gadaba Colony with 300 speakers and 4 K.M.s away from Bobbili town. Gadabas are found in the agency area and in the plains of Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram and Visakhapatnam Distrists of Andhra Pradesh and in the border areas of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

There are two groups of Gadabas which are linguistically distinct. One of the two is a member of the "Munda" family, and the other is clearly a Dravidian language.

The two groups live in seperate colonies. Some vocabulary of this Dravidian Gadaba is collected from Boddavalasa near Salur town in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. A comparison of few words from both the groups is given in this following table.

English	Telugu	Dravidian Gadaba	Munda Gadaba
We	e : mu (me : mu)	i : nu	ne : y ^o
I	e : nu (ne : nu)	a : nu	ni : y ^o
You (Sing)	i : vu (ni : vu)	i : nu	no : w ^o

English	Telugu	Dravidian Gadaba	Munda Gadaba
You (plu)	mi : ru (i : ru)	i : ru	pe : nu
hand	ce : yi	kiyyu	titti
nose	mukku	mu : ga : n	mi : y
legs	ka : ilu ..	ka : lgil	susu : w ne:r
flower	puvvu	pu : wu	sarri
One	okati	okku : r	mu : y u
two	rendu	iddi	mba : ru
	(i : ru)	..	
three	mu : du	mu : du	igge : nu
four	na : lu gu	na : lku	u : nu
five	aidu	aydu	moley
(I)bet	kottænu ..	atte : n ..	goyo : ni : y
bet me (they you)	nannukottæru ..	annigatte : r ..	ni:y pa:y go:yo
(he) cooked	wandæru	wandida : r	kurro :
(he) ate	tinna : du	undo : ndu	i : do :
he told	ceppæ : du (pokkædu)	pokka : ndu	di : yo :
is cooking	wandu tunnadu	wandeynda : n	kurruduttu
is eating	tintunnæ : du	unnuta : nd	i : do : duttu
is telling	cepputunna : du	pokkuda : nd	diyo : duttu
will eat	tinta : du	unda : d	e : do : lo : w

English	Telugu	Dravidian Gadaba	Munda Gadaba
will tell	cepputa : du	pokda : nd	diyo : lo : ^o w
house	illu	vullu	diye : n
hill	konda	ma : re	bira : ^o w
tree	mra : nu	mare : n	sulo :
cot	mancam	kandru	sinde
goat	me : ka	me : gi	gime

The non Dravidian Gadaba about which the present analysis is made, was identified by Griarson as the member of the "Munda" branch of languages. The long list of comparative vocabulary of Munda Branch of languages given in "Lingustic Survey of India" (Vol. I page 411) includes words from Gadaba and Savara languages also.

Laudable work was done on "Savara" by Sri Gidugu Rama Murty pantulu, and a good dictionary for "Savara" was also prepared by him. Edward Sapire of Ale University stated in the preface of the dictionary "Savara is classified as a mixed Munda Language owing to supposedly serious influences exerted by Aryan and Dravidian languages—The language is quite definitely of Munda type and is to be classified without reservation with such typical Munda language as Santali—"

Certain grammatical parallels can be found between Savara and Gadaba.

Duplication of certain syllables in verbs is a common feature in both the languages.

Savara

Get up = di	having got up = di-am-de-le
eat = Jum	having eaten = Jum-am Jum le
wait = dul	waiting = dul - do:l-an

Gadaba

got up = modo	getting up = modumo : duttu
beat = go : yo :	beating = gogo : y duttu
came - pigi	comming = pigpiy

2. Both the languages do not have appropriate ordinals to the corresponding cardinals. In Gadaba they simply add / o :/ on cardinals and use them for ordinals. This /o:/ is also probably due to the influence of Telugu, spoken in the surroundings.

3. A few Savara cognets of Gadaba words are presented in the list below

English	Gadaba	Savara
One	mu : y	mu :
Two	mba : ru	ba : ru
three	igge : nu	ya : r
four	moley	molli
head	bo :	bob
water	diya :	da : n
son	oduo : n	one : ro : n
daughter	onuwo : n	onseleo
horse	kirtiya	kurta
goet	gime :	kimme
to eat	som	jum
to stand	tuno : n	tate : n
to die	go : y	kie

On observing the equivalents mentioned above it is clear that the two languages belong to a common stock, and hence it can be safely concluded that Gadaba is also a member of the Munda group of languages, as its sister Savara is.

II. Phonemes of Gadaba

The total number of phonemes in this language are thirty among which ten are vowels.

I. Vowels

| i | High—Front—Short
occurs in all positions
idiya = meal

gisi = a domestic fowl (Cock/hen)
sarri = flower

| i: | High—Front—Long
occurs only medially and initially.
i : do : = to drink

bi i: do = to scatter

| e | Mid—Front—Short
occurs in all positions
era : y = how

g^oeg ca : = to chew
ginne = teeth

| e: | Mid—Front—long
occurs initilly and medially
e : nlu = fingers
ge : no = to draw

| a | Low—Centre—Short
occurs in all positions

ancug = to walk

bira : ^ow = hill
oliya : = leaf

| a: | Low—Centre—Long
occurs in all positions
a : ba = father
mba : rju = two
diya : = water
.

| u | High—Back—Short
occurs in all positions
uso : ^ow = bitter
sulo : = tree
so : lu = oil

| u: | High—Back—Long
occurs initially and medially
u : nu = four
mu : yu = one

| o | Mid—Back—Short
occurs initially and medially
oliga : = leaf
sogudu = cart
.

| o: | Mid—Back—Long
occurs in all positions
o : bo : = to bite
So : lu : = oil
Sulo : = tree

II. Consonents

| p | Bilabial—Stop—Unvoiced
occurs initially and medially
Pidi = bird
.

| ^op | Sopiy = thief
| b | Bilabial—Stop—Voiced
occurs initially and medially
be ba : r = te bargain
a : ba = father

| t | Dental – Stop – Unvoiced
occurs initially and medially
tig^okiy = grinder
ni ntiri = ear

| t | Dental – Stop – Voiced
occurs initially and medially
da : ru = soaking
gondiri = cloth

| t | Retroflex – Stop – Unvoiced
occurs medially only
po te : lu = insect
sutte : y = hair

| d | Retroflex – Stop – Voiced
occurs initially and medially
da : gi = to climb
bi : do = to scatter

| c | Palatal – Offricate – Unvoiced
occurs initially and medially
cekke = to chap
ancug^o = to walk

| j | Palatal – Affricate – Voiced
occurs initially – and medially
jagili = co – sun – in law
punja = four

| k | Velar – Stop – Unvoiced
occurs initially and medially
kilo : g^o ka = relative
ruku = rice

| g | Velar—Stop—Voiced
occurs initially and medially
gili = hare
gu gi ya : = crow

| s | Alveolar—Sibilent—Unvoiced
occurs initially and medially
sogudu = cart

busa : nu = petarnal uncle

| r | Alveolar—Trilled—Voiced
occurs in all positions
ro = elephant
sarumo : = Fore head

kilo : ^og ka : r = relative.

| l | Alveolar—Lateral—Voiced
occurs in all positions
luti = flour
gikkili = tiger
bire : l = stone

| m | Labial—Nasal—Voiced
occurs in all positions
modo : = big

kimbo : y = wife
bela : m = to spread

| n | Dental—Nasal—Voiced
occurs in all positions
nintiri = ear
mana : y = basket
meyye : n = short

| ^og | Velar—Nasal—Voiced
occurs medially and at the end
bo ^ogtel = she buffalo
to : ^og = pound

| w | Labial – Fricative – Voiced
 occurs initially and medially
 wa : = now
 so : wo : = to clean

| ^ɔ w | Labial – fricative – nasal – Voiced
 occurs medially and at the end
^ɔ daw a : ta = flame
 uso : ^ɔ w = bitter

| y | Palatal – Fricative – Voiced
 occurs medially and at the end
 diye : n = house
 .
 diley = stomach
 .

| ^ɔ y | Palatal – Frication – Nasal – Voiced
 occurs only at the end position
^ɔ gisi y = hen

III. CONSONENTAL CLUSTERS

In this limited data collected, the biconsonental clusters are traced as follows.

- pp appa = sister
- bb dibbagime = sheep
- mp gumpa : ^ow = hump
- mm gummi = ditch
- mb kimbo : y = wife
- ww tiwwa = wire
- tt ottey = on/over
- ty kitya : ^ow = cow
- nn ginne = teeth
- nd gondiri = cloth
- nd inde : yu = when
- nc kinco = winnowing implement
- ng kima : nga : y = daughter-in-law
- nr konro : ^ow = throte
- nt nintiri = ear
- mb ombiya : ^ow = bow
- nj pu : nja = four
- rl sarla : y = cucumber
- rt kirtiya = horse
- rn kornu = unploughed land
- rr kurru = to cook
- ll bullu = fruit
- lt eltigime = sheep
- tt cuttey = hair
-

dd	addaw ^o = fish
..	..
cc	mogulocco : = lightening
yd	seydo = calm : slow
..	.
yy	eyyo : ^o w = bringal
yy	ne : ^{oo} yy = we
kk	rukke : rur = seedling
gg	iggenju = three
gd	kugdiya = well
..	.
gt	bogte : l = she buffollow
gs	segsa : ^o w = turmaric
gc	gegca : = to chew
gk	kilo : ^o gka : = father-in-law of the son or daughter

IV. PHONEMIC DISTRIBUTION

In the available limited vocabulary only one cluster of three consonants is found.

/ncy/-oncyew ^o = Vesel.

I. Distribution of vowels :

- 1.1. Among long vowels /a:/ alone occurs in all [the positions.
- 1.2. /e:/; /i/; /a/; /u/ - These four short vowels occur in all the three positions.

- 1.3. Except /a:/ and /o:/ no other long vowel is found in the end position of the words.
- 1.4. /o/ is not found in the end position. But all the other short vowels occur in the end position also.

2. **Consonants :**

/w/-/t/-d/-/y/

1. /w/-/w/-/t/-/y/ These four consonants do not cluster with any other consonant.

3. **Distribution of consonants :**

- 3.1. /l/-/r/-/n/-/m/ Alone have the ability to occur in all the positions i.e. initially, medially and in the end.

- 3.2. /p/-/b/-/w/-/j/-/c/-/s/-d/-/t/-/d/-/t/-k/-/g/.

These consonants do not occur in the end position. They are found only initially, and medially.

- 3.3. /y/-/r/-/l/-/w/-/y/-/n/-/m/-/n/ These are the only consonants that can occur in the end position.

Note : /e/ This sound is found only in one word /e gi/ = sleep. It is a nonrepetitive verb. The same sound occurs in all the other forms of the verb. The data is insufficient to establish its phonemic status.

III Number

In Gadaba there are only two numbers, singular and plural. Neither the gender nor the meaning play a role in taking different suffixes.

1. The plural sense is conveyed by adding a suffix to a noun.
2. There are three plural suffixes. Different nouns take different suffixes.

/-lu/;/-e:n/;/-ne:n/

3. /-lu/

3.1. This suffix is borrowed from Telugu and is suffixed to the words borrowed from Telugu only.

kommu lu = horns

to : kalu = tails

go : r lu = nails of the fingers.

3.2. As an exception to this, two Telugu borrowings take a Gadaba plural suffix.

tiwwa ne : n = Creepers

tokka ne : n = Pealings of the fruit.

4. /-e : n/

Only the words ending with the consonant /-n/or/-nu/ take/-e : n/as plural suffix.

4.1. Ending with /-n/

diye : n + e : n = diye : ne : n = houses.

tona : n + e : n = tona : ne : n = sister.

onu wo : n + e : n = onuwo : ne : n = Children.

4.2. /-nu/

If the end consonant /-n/ is followed by /-u/, the /-u/ is dropped before adding the plurals suffix /-en/

gubo : nu + e : n = gubo : ne : n

busa : nu + e : n = busane : n

o : nu + e : n = o : ne : n

4.3. The above process has an exception in the plural formation of the noun /bulu/ where /-n/ is not in the end consonant followed by /u/

bulu + e : n = bulle : n

5.1. /-ne : n/

All the other nouns which do not end in /-n/ or /-n+vowel/ take /-ne : n/ as the plural suffix.

kirini + ne : n = kirinine : n

sulo : + ne : n = Sulo : ne : n

Sopiy ^o + ne : n = Sopiy ^o ne : n

bire : l + ne : n = bire : l ne : n

5.2. Exception :— k : runu + ne : n = runu ne : n

This is the only word which found its plural with /ne:n/ instead of /e : n/ and did not drop /-u/.

6. Some phonetic changes while adding the plural suffixes.

6.1. If the end /-i/ is preceded either by a nasal or by a cluster, no phonetic change occurs.

gimi + ne : n = gimi ne : n

kirini + ne : n = kirinine : n

sinri + ne : n = sinrine : n

guddi + ne : n = guddine : n

6.2. The end /-i/ in the bisyllabics when not preceded by a nasal or a cluster, takes /y/.

gibi + ne : n = gibiyne : n

gili + ne : n = giliyne : n

6.3. In trisyllabics the end /i/ is dopped if it is not preceded by a nasal or a cluster.

zagili + ne : n = zagilne : n

gikkili + ne : n = gikkilne : n

nintiri + ne : n = nintirne : n

6.4. /-e/ at the end of the words is lengthened when /ne : n/ is added.

debe + ne : n = debe : ne : n

ginne + ne : n = ginne : ne : n

-- sanne + ne : n = sanne : ne : n

(only these three examples are available)

6.5. The end /-a/ is always lengthened when a plural suffix is added.

oliya + ne : n = oliya : ne : n

gugiya + ne : n = gugiya : ne : n

tiwwa + ne : n = tiwwa : ne : n

6.6. end /-u/ is dropped when a plural suffix is added to a trisyllabic word.

giniru + ne : n = ginirne : n

sogudu + ne : n = sogudne : n

suna : ru + ne : n = suna : rne : n

6.7. end /-u/ is retained in bisyllabics when plural suffix is added.

kuyu + ne : n = kuyune : n

runu + ne : n = runune : n

6.8. as an exception on trisyllabic word did not drop its ending /-u/

budubu + ne : n = budubune : n

6.9. At the end of the words the short /-o/ gets lengthened and the long /-o:/ remains unchanged when it takes /-ne : n/ as a plural suffix.

guso + ne : n = guso : ne : n

raso + ne : n = raso : ne : n

ariyo + ne : n = ariyo : ne : n

so : + ne : n = so : ne : n

mo : + ne : n = mo : ne : n

bo : + ne : n = bo : ne : n

6.10. As an exception to the above rule end /o:/ is dropped in one case, may be because it is a trisyllabic word.

guna : lo : + ne : n = guna : lne : n

6.11. Words ending with consonants take /ne : n/ without any change.

ontiya : ^ow + ne : n = ontiya : ^ow ne : n

suley + ne : n = suleyne : n

bire : l + ne : n = birelne : n

kilo : nka : r + ne : n = kilo : nka : rne : n

7. Irrespective of plural suffix taken by a subject in the sentence the verb always takes /ne : n/ only as the plural suffix.

buya : ^ow ne : n pi : ^ogi ne : n

gorlu pi : ^ogi ne : n

IV Numerals

1. Gadaba language has numerals only upto five. Counting above five is done by way of addition and multiplication.
2. One = /mu : y u/
two = /mba : ru/
three = /jigge : nu/
four = /u : nu/
/pu : nja/
five = /moley/
- 2.1. /moley/ is not familiar to the younger generation. They know only upto four = /-u : nu/
3. /-u : nu/ and /pu : nja/ both the words mean four, but /punja/ is used only as a collective noun to express groups of four. /pu : nja/ is used in multiplication as in /mba : rpu : nja/ = two fours, to mean eight. This usage is similar to our saying dozen for twelve.
4. They have two words to denote hundred.
/bo :/ and /kande/
5. For counting numbers from six to eleven, five is taken as the base. Mode of counting above five is based on additions to five.

/moley uttey mu : yu / = over five one = $5 + 1$.

/moley uttey mba : ru/ = over five two = $5 + 2$.

6. Numbers higher than nine are made up both by multiplication and addition.
For eleven

/mba : ru moley uttey mu : y u/
= over two fives one = $2 \times 5 + 1$.

7. From twelve the base for multiplication is four. Numbers are added to the multiples of four as in

$12 = 3 \times 4 = \text{igge} : \text{nu pu} : \text{nja} = \text{Three fours}$

$13 = 3 \times 4 + 1 = \text{igge} : \text{nu pu} : \text{nja ottey u} : \text{nu}$

$14 = 3 \times 4 + 2 = \text{igge} : \text{nu pu} : \text{nja ottey mba} : \text{ru}$

$16 = 4 \times 4 = \text{u} : \text{nu pu} : \text{nja/}$

8. When the speakers fail to calculate they resort to Telugu numerals.

In the village markets the traders keep lots of four or five. The lot of four is called "punji" by Telugu speakers of northern Sarkar districts; and five as /ce : yi/ (singular) meaning one hand, and /cetulu/ meaning hands, indicating multiples of five. The habit of keeping twos in lots is also in vogue and called as /jata/ meaning pair.

9. Cardinals.

9.1. In counting human beings the numbers take a suffix. Before taking the suffix the end /-u/ is dropped:

one = mu : y u

one person = mu : y da : nu.

two = /mba : ru/

two persons = /mba : rju/

three = /igge : nu/

three persons = /igge : nju/

four = /u : nu/

four persons / u : nru

five = /mole : y/

five persons = /mole : y loku ne : n/

9.2. /-ru/ that follows /u : nu/ may be a borrowed suffix from Telugu as in

/naluguru/ = four persons.

9.3. /lokune : n/ which is added to /moley/ is an independent word meaning "person" Probably a borrowing from Hindi "log".

9.4. In counting non-human forms the cardinal numbers will not undergo any change except losing /-u/ in the Hindi-endings.

one tree = mu : ^oy sulo :
 two trees = mba : r sulo : ne : n
 three trees = igge : n sulo ne : n

9.5. Adding /o :/ at the end of the cardinal form changes it into an ordinal form.

1st tree = mu : ^oy : sulo :
 2nd tree = mba : ro : sulo :
 3rd tree = igge : no : sulo :

9.6. /o :/ occupies the place of ending /-u:/ in first four numbers.

/o:/ is directly added to /moley/
 5th tree = /moleyo : sulo :/

9.7. The ordinal suffix /o :/ may be due to the influence of surrounding Telugu where similar sound is heard in spoken language.

one = okati → okato : = 1st

two = rendu → rendo : = 2nd

three = mu : du → mudo : = 3rd

V Gender

1. The gender in Gadaba language does not make any difference in the sentence construction.
2. Generally for animals the male and female distinction is made by prefixing a word /po : tu/. It is a borrowed word from Telugu which means male.

/po : tu bo ³g tel / = He buffallow

This word, as it is, denotes a female of the species.

/bo³tel/ = buffallow

3. There are examples when a Telugu word /a : da/ meaning female is also used as a prefix to the Gadaba words to distinguish the feminine gender.

/guso/ = dog (common term)

/a : da guso :/ = bitch

/po : tu guso :/ = male dog.

4. Some domestic animals have separate names for the male and female species.

/sugo : y/ = bull

/kirtiya :/ = cow

In Telugu also we find different terms for bull and cow
/a : vu/, /eddu/

5. In human relationships also the male and female species are expressed by separate words.

/ariyo :/ = son-in-law

/kima : nga : y/ = daughter-in-law.

/tona : n/ = sister

/buya : w/ = brother

/rimo : lu/ = husband

/kimbo : y/ = wife

VI Interrogation

Intonation and interrogative pronouns are the two means of interrogation in this language.

1. Intonation of the last syllable of the sentence and lengthening of the last vowel express intorragation.

ma : yu pi : ^{gi} = He came

ma : yu pi : ^{gi} ? = He came ? (did he come)

ma : yu ludo : = He laughed

ma : yu ludo :? = He laughed ? (Did he laugh)

2. At the pont of interrogative intonation /-a/ is also added optionally. This /-a/ is probably an influence of Telugu as follows :

wa : du vacca : du = He came

wa : du vacca : da : = He came (Did he come ?)

In Telugu also this /a :/ is a variant with the lengthening of the final vowel as

wadu vacca : du : ?

3. Interrogative suffix /a :/ following the final vowel undergoes changes. There the interrogative intonation stands on /a :/

- 3.1. The interrogative /a :/ following /i/ becomes /-æ/

came = pi : ^{gi} + a : = pi ^{gæ} :? = came ?

set = le : gi + a : = le : gæ :? = sat ?

- 3.2. The interrogative /a :/ following /u/ or /o/ becomes /wa :/

/ma : yu modugu/ = He stood

/ma : yu modugu/ + a = ma : yu modugu wa : = He stood?

/ma:yu du:gu/ + a : = /mayu du : gu wa :/ = was he? (there)

/a :/ with /o/wa

/ma : yu ludo:/ + a = ma : yu : ludo wa : = Did he laugh

/ma : yu demo:/ + a = ma yudemo : wa : = Did he do ?

3.3. If /o/ is preceded by /g/, /a :/ replaces /o :/ as in

/ma:yu go : yo : go/ + a : = /ma : yu go : yo . ga :/
= He bet? = Did he beat ?

4. Another way of interrogation is to use the interrogative pronouns. They generally join before the verb.

ma : yu u : gi = he went

ma : yu mbo : u : gi = He where went ? (where did he go ?)

no : w pi : gi = you came

no:w inde:y pi : gi = you when came? (when did you come)?

No other structural change is found in interagatives.

VII Negative

Negative sense is expressed in four ways : - by

1. Suffixing /-nu : riya/
2. Prefixing /a-/
3. Suffixing /-wa/
4. end intonation.

1.1. To express the state of non existance /-nu : riya/ is added to the subject.

eg: (1) He (2) (is) not (here) = 1 ma : yu 2 nu : riya

1 It 3 (is) not 2 (a) tree = 1 tunno : 2. sulo : 3. nu : riya^a

1.2. 1 It 2 (is) bad = 1 tu 2 limmaka uriya

A one word equivalent of “bad” is not found in Gadaba language

/limmaka/ = Good

/limmaka u : riya/ = Bad

Instead of /nu : riya/ - /u:riya/ is sufixed to give the negative sense.

2.1. /nu : riya :/

Negative in past, present tenses and in causative is expressed by suffixing /-nu:riya/ to the verb irrespective of it being duplicative or non-duplicative ; and transitive or intransitive.

Negative in past tense

(transitive) did not cook = /kurrunu:riya/ (non-dupli)

(intransitive) did not weep = /boro:nu:riya:/ (non/dupli)

(transitive) did not see = /zuzunu : riya/ (dupli)

(intransitive) did not fell = /logulo : nu : riya/ (dupli)

Negative in past tense :

(transitive) not washing = /gudiya : nu : riya/ = (non-dupli)

(Intransitve) not going = /u : ynu : riya/ = (non-dupli)

(transitve) not seeing = /zuzunu : riya/ = (Dupli)

(intransitve) not coming = /pig piy nu : riya/ = (Dupli)

Negative in causation :

(transitive) not made to cook = /kurru bettanu : riya/ .. (non-dupli)

(intransitve) not made to laugh = /udobetta : nu : riya/ (non-dupli)

(transitve) not made to beat = /gogo : y betta:nu : riya/ .. (Dupli)

(transitve) not made to come = /rappince : y nu : riya

Note: The verb /rappinci/ is a borrowing from Telugu where also it is causative. /betta/ is also a borrowing of Telugu word /pettu/ in its corrupt form.

3. /a- /

Negative in future and incomplete tenses of the duplicative verbs and in ability on all kinds of verbs is expressed by prefixing /a- / to the verb.

3.1. Negative in future (only on duplicatives)

Will not see = /azu :/ Dupli-transe

Will not shake = /azi : ru/ Dupli-transe

Will not run = /adu : ga/ Dupli-intransitve

Will not rain = /agi : ru/ Dupli-intransitve

3.2. Negative in verbs of incomplete action (only on duplicative verbs)

eg : (Dupli-intransitve) having not got up = /ammodo : su/

(Dupli-intransitve) having not come = /apig a : su/

(Dupli-transe) having not seen = /azu : wo : su/

(Dupli-transe) having not beaten = /ago : yo : su/

3.3. As an exception the following non-duplicate verbs are also prefixed by /a-/ to express negative in future tense.

le : gi /	— alecca :	= will not sit
lo : gu	— alo : wa :	= will not fall
ge : nu	— age : nu :	= will not pull out
so :	— aso :	= will not reap
beba : r	— abe : ra	= will not
kim	— akima	= will not bate

3.4. Negative in ability :

To express ability /go : ^gg/ is added to the verb.

Inability is expressed by suffixing /ago : ^gg a / to these verbs. The negative denoter /a-/ is prefixed to /go : ^gg/

eg : (N.D. intrans) cannot laugh = ludo ago : ^gg a ni : ^gy

(can laugh = ludo go : ^gg a : niy)

(N.D. transe) cannot cook = kurru ago : ^gg a : ni : ^gy
can cook = (kurru go : ^gg a : ni : ^gy)

(Dupli-transe) cannot beat = gogo : y ago : ^gg a ni : ^gy
can beat = (gogo : y go : ^gg a : ni : ^gy)

(Dupli-intrans) cannot come = (impiy ago : ^gg a : ni : ^gy)
can come = (impiy go : ^gg a : niy)

3.5. Certain phonetic changes occur when /a-/ is prefixed

3.5. (1) If the verb begins with a vowel, /—w—/ comes as a glide in between the negative prefix and initial vowel of the word

a + o : ^ogo = a wo : ^og = will not sow

a + a : yo : = a wo : yo : = will not call

a + o : ^oy o = a woy ^oo : = will not here.

3.5. (2) In certain non-duplicative transitive verbs the end /-gi/; /-gu/ will change into /cca/. In addition to the negative prefix /a-/.

eg : a + da : gi - ada : cca :

a + le : gi - ale : cca

a + bu : gi - abu : cca

a + odigi - odicca

3.5. (3) Other non-duplicative transitive verbs did not undergo any phonetic change when negative /a-/ is prefixed.

eg : a + gudiya = agudiya

a + ge : nu = age : nu

a + so : wo = aso :

a + kima = a kima

a + se : ra = a se : ra

4.1. End intonation

There are certain verbs which do not take any suffix or prefix of negative sense. But the sense is conveyed with an intonation at the end of the word.

/ge^oga:/

/kurru/

/bela : m/

/ottiya^o/

/sopi^oy/

VIII Pronouns

1. Personal Pronouns :

1st person singular I = /ni : ^oyu/

1st person plural We = /na : ^oyu/ (inclusive plural)

1st person plural We = /ne : ^oyu/ (exclusive plural)

The inclusive plural includes the listener in the speakers group. The equivalent of this in Telugu is /manamu/ In the exclusive plural the listener is not included in the speakers group. The equivalent of this in Telugu is /me:mu/

12. 2nd person singular /no : ^ogu/ = you

Another form of this is /no : ^ow/

When 2nd person singular is used at the beginning of the sentence it is heard as /no : ^ogu/

If it occurs either with a case suffix or in the middle of the sentence it is heard as /no : ^ow/

no : ^ogu pe : nu ungo : ^ow u : gi

(you) (your) (village) (went)

(you went to your village)

no : ^ow pa : y a : lu u : lo : diya : ne : n

you they tocome asked

(They asked you to come)

na : y kata no : ^ow rayra : y dutt

our story you are writing

2nd person plural = /pe : nu/ = you

1.3. IIIrd person singular = /ma : yu/

This means only he or she. The non human III person (it) is not denoted by this pronoun. To make a specific mention of the male in the III person they use a Telugu pronoun /a : du/ which is a corrupt form of /wa : du/.

But they do not use any term to specify female in the III person singular.

Slowly the meaning of /ma : yu/ is getting restricted to mean 'she'—only. The term /a : du/ is gaining strength among younger generation as an equivalent of 'he'

III person—plural—/a : lu/ = they

This is used both for the masculine and feminine. This is also a borrowing from Telugu originally /wa:lu/=They.

2. Interragative pronouns :

2.1. ma : di pa : y = why

ummono = where

inde : yu = when

era : y = how

la : yu = who

mbolo : which (Singular & Plural)

ma : n = what

Plural is not found in the interragative pronouns.

Certain interragatives are borrowed from Telugu along with their plural forms.

/de : nibo :/ = with what (Sing) de : ni to : (Telugu)

/e : tibo :/ = with what (plu) ve : ti to o : (Telugu)

3. Demonstrative pronouns :

That = /tu : nu/

This = /te : nu/

Those = /awiwo :/

These = /iwiwo :/

There = /tunno :/ Here = /tenno :/
 That way = /tudiya/ This way = /tediya/

3.2. /tu/ is the adjective meaning "that"

/tu gikkili/ = That tiger

/tu sinri/ = That umbrella

3.3. /tu/ did not occur separately in this limited data. But /tu/ and /te/ can be taken as the demonstrative bases for the pronouns.

/tu-/ is indicative of far off things

/te-/ is indicative nearer things

4. Relative pronouns :

4.1. There are no separate relative pronouns in this language. They use a simple syntactic device to indicate relativity.

4.2. They insert /wa:/ between the two nouns that are related.

te : nu wo : tu : nu = this—the same that

1 midi 2 pimpiy³ 3 loku 4 wa : 5 te : nu

= 5 He (is) 4 the same 3 man (who) 2 came 1 yesterday

/wa/ means the same. It corresponds to /e:/ in Telugu and /e:va/ in Sanskrit.

5. Some phonetic changes in pronouns :

5.1. Before the case endings all the pronouns lose their end /u :/

eg : He/She = /ma : yu/

to him/to her = /ma : y bo :/ (ma : yu bo)

5.2. Lone pronouns from Telugu do not drop the final 'u'

eg : a : lu + bo → a : lubo : = to them

a : du + bo : → a : du bo : to him

5.3. The end /u/ of the pronouns, /ni:y u/; /ma:yu/; /a:du/ and /a:lu/, is replaced by /-n/, when a case suffix /-ottey/ is added.

ni : y u + ottey → ni : y nottey

a : du + ottey → a : drottey

a : lu + ottey → a : lnottey

ma : yu + ottey → ma : y nottey

5.4. Third person pronouns take /nu/ and lose their end
/ - u /

He/She = ma : yu + nu → ma : ynu diye : n

He = a : du \Rightarrow a : dnu dive : n = his house

196 - a. 222 > a. 222 a. 222 a. 222

his house

They = a : lu → a : lnu diye : n

Their house

6. The pronominal suffixes :

6.1. If I and II personal pronouns, (both singular and plural forms) are subjects of the verbs, they join the verb as suffixes. The pronoun forms lose the last vowel and become suffixes.

Pronoun form	Suffix from
ni : yy u	ni : y
ne : yy u	ne : y
na : yu	na : y
no : g	no : w
pe : nu	pe : n

eg : ni:[◎]yy u ludo:[◎]ni:[◎]y = I laughed

ne:[◎]yy u ludo:[◎]ne:[◎]y = We laughed (exclusive)

na:yu ludo:na:y = We laughed (inclusive)

nc:[◎]g ludo:[◎]nc:[◎]w = you laughed (singular)

pe:nu ludo:pe:n = you laughed (plural)

6.2. Suffixes of III person singular, are not added to the verb
 The plural suffix /ne:n/ only is added to the verb.

ma : yu ludu = He laughed

a : lu ludo ne : n = They laughed.

6.3. For III person pronouns, expressing any thing other than human beings, no suffix is added to the verb either in the singular or in the plural.

bogte : l pi : gi = buffalo came

bogte : l ne : n pi : gi = buffalos came

IX Adjectives and Adverbs

1. Adjectives generally take their positions before the words, they quality.

modo : loku = big man

modo : sulo = big tree

tiyi : r loku = tall man

tiyi : r sulo = tall tree

2. Adjectives do not undergo any change with regard to genders number or person when it preceeds the noun.

modo : loku = big man

modo : lokune : n = big men

modo : bira : ^ow = big hill

modo : kimbo : y = big wife (elder wife)

3. The adjective can also be placed next to the noun. In such cases the adjective takes the plural and pronominal suffix.

tu loku modo = That man (is) big

tu lokune : n modo : ne : = Those men (are) big

tu sulo tiye : r = That tree (is) tall

tu sulo : ne : tiyi : rne : n = Those trees (are) big

ni : ^oyy modo : ^oniy = I (am) elder

no : ^ow mo : do : no : ^ow = you (are) elder (sing)

pe : nu modo : pe : n = you (are) elder (plural)

a : lu : modo : ne : n = they (are) elder

From the pronominal suffixes at the end, it can be treated a full sentence.

4. The suffix */-ka/* joins the adjective optionally. It is not specific where and when it joins. However it does not make any difference in the meaning.

meyye : n sulo = short tree

meyye : n ka sulo = short tree

modo loku = big man

modo ka loku = big man

5. 5.1. When nouns are used as adjectives either */-ka/* or */-wo/* joins the noun.

1 mu : y [◎] 2 susuw [◎] ka 3 ja : na = 1 three 2 legged 3 creature

1 u : nu 2 susuw [◎] wo : 3 ja : na = 1 four 2 legged 3 creature

5.2. Even without these two suffixes a noun can precede as an adjective.

1 padi 2 susuw [◎] ne : n 3 jana = 1 ten 2 legged 3 creature

ba : ne : n 1 manda = cattle herd

mu : y na : du = one day

1 ta : ta : kulu 2 sindiri = 1 palmyrah 2 umbrella

/jana,/ /na : du,/ /manda,/ are Telugu words meaning, being, day, and herd.

6. A single word meaning 'bad' is not found in this language. They express it as 'not good'.

/limmaka/ = good : /-u : riya/ = not/no

/limmaka u : riya/ = not good = bad

/- u : riya = is a suffix used to express negation.

ADVERBS

1. The adverbs are placed before the verbs in the sentences.
oley demo : = quickly done (done quickly)

loko demo : = well done

2. The suffix /-su/ is added to certain words to form adverbs

gideyagu = late

gidey agu su pi : gi = lately come (came late)

3. Certain of the adverbs take the Telugu suffix, /-ga/ to modify the verb

/meyye : n/ = low/ soft / slow.

/meyye : nga a : yo:/ = slowly called.

X Cases

The case system in Gadaba is very simple and it has only four cases.

1.1. For nominative and possessive cases the nominal base without any inflexion is used.

nominative case.

ni : ^oyy pi : ^ogi ni : ^oy = I came

no : ^ow pi : ^ogi no : ^ow = you came

ma : ^oyu pi : ^ogi = He came

bogtel pi : ^ogi = she buffalo came

1.2. possessive case

ni : ^oy diye : n = my house

no : ^ow gisi = your dog

bogte : l susu : ^ow = buffalo's leg

In the possessive case the III person pronoun take a connecting suffix /-nu/

ma : ynu diye : n = his/her house

a : lnu diye : n = Their house

2. In the objective and dative cases /pa : y/ will be added to the noun or pronoun.

2.1. Objective :

1 ni : y pa : y 2 go : yo : = (he) 2 bet 1 me

1 ma : y pa : y 2 go : yo : ni : ^oy = (I) 2 bet 1 him.

1 no : ^owpa : y 2 a : yo : = (he) 2 called 1 you

1 gikkilipa : y 2 oggo : cco : ^ogo : = (he) 2 killed 1 the tiger

1 ma : yu 2 adiwipa : y 3 u : gi = 1 He 3 went 2 to the
forest

2.2. Dative Case :

1 ma : yu 2 ni : y pa : y 3 bi : do = 1 He 3 gave 2 me

1 ma : yu 2 no : ^owpa : y 3 bi : do : = 1 He 3 gave 2 you

4. There are also instances where the objective is expressed without any suffix.

1 -ne : ^oyy 2 uggo : ^ow 3 pi : ^oginey

1 we 3 came 2 to the village

1 nebbule : n 2 bi : do : = (he) 2 gave 1 the money

This kind of option in the use of suffixes in dative and accusative cases is observed for objects other than human beings.

5. Instrumental case

/-bo : w/ is the suffix for the instrumental case in the sense of, by ; along with ; and with.

eg :— 1 ni : ^oy bo : ^ow 2 ogde : mo : = 2 done 1 by me

1 sugo : ^oy bo : ^ow 2 suybetta : wo : = 2 ploughed 1 by the
bullocks

1 ni : y 2 ma : ^oy bo : ^ow 3 pi : ^ogini ^oy = I along with him came
(1 I came along 2 with him)

1 ma : y 2 ni : ^o y 3 bo : ^o w 3 pi : ^o gi = he along with me came
(1 He 3 came along 2 with me)

1 nebbule : n bo : ^o w 2 sopto : ni : ^o y = with money (I) baught
(I) 2 bought 1 with money)

1 tittine : n bo : ^o w 2 go : yo : ni : ^o y = with hands (I) beat
(I) 2 beat 1 with hands)

1 ni : ^o y bo : ^o w 2 susuw 3 nu : riya : =
(He) 3 did not 2 tell 1 me

In this sentence "he did not tell me" – "me" is not in the instrumental case. But probably under the influence of Telugu expression as in "na : to : ceppale : du" meaning did not tell me—Gadaba used the instrumental case.

6. Locative case :

6.1. / –bo : / is used in the locative sense meaning in/among.

eg :- 1 diye : n bo : 2 sindi 3 duttu =
2 The cot 3 is 1 in the house

1 ni : ^o y bo : 2 iya : ^o w 3 duttu = 2 Blood 3 is 1 in me

1 ma : y bo : 2 ni : ^o y 3 meyye : n = 2 I(am) 3 short among
us.

6.2. / –bo : / is used to express the nearness also

1 ugo : ^o w 2 bire : l bo : 3 duttu =
1 Village 3 is 2 near (the) hill

6.3. Sindhi bo : = in the cot

"In the cot" is used in the sense of on the cot.

6.4. /ottey/ is used in the sense of 'on'

1 sindi nottey 2 loku 3 duttu = 2 Man 3 is 1 on the cot.

1 no : w 2 ottey 3 seggo : ru = 3 angry 2 on 1 you.

6.5. Combining /-bo:/ and /-pa:y/ - they use it as /bo : pa : y/ meaning "into" and "among".

eg :- 1 ma : yu 2 adivi 3 bo : pa : y 4 u : gi
· = 1 He 4 went 3 in to 2 the forest

1 ne : y 2 bo : pa : y 3 ma : yu 4 modo

3 He 4 is big 2 among 1 us.

6.6. This/bo : pa : y/ expression is probably an imitation of Telugu system as in /-lo/ ; /-ki/ meaning among and into.

Telugu = /inti lo : ki/ = into the house

Gadaba = /diye : n bo : pi : y/ = into the house,

6.7. The case suffixes from Telugu like /-ko : sam/

/-walla/ ; /-kante/ are freely borrowed and used.

/-ko : sam/ means "for" = /na : ko : sam/ = for me

/-walla/ = by : /na : valla/ = by me

/-kante/ = than /na : Kante/ than me

6.8. Post positions

/-kuruwi/ = from.

1. 1 e : giy 2 kuruwi 3 modagu : gi = 3 Got up 2 from
· 1 sleep

2. 1 ugo : w 2 kuruwi 3 pi : gi = 3 came 2 from the
· 1 village

6.4. /ottey/ is used in the sense of 'on'

1 sindi nottey^o 2 loku 3 duttu = 2 Man 3 is 1 on the cot.

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1. 1 e : gi^o 2 kuruwi 3 modagu : gi = 3 Got up 2 from
1 sleep

2. 1 ugo : w^o 2 kuruwi 3 pi : gi^o = 3 came 2 from the
1 village

XI Negative

Negative sense is expressed in four ways by –

1. suffixing /nu : riya :/
2. suffixing / - wa, /
3. prefixing /a- /
4. end intonation

1.1. To express the state of non-existance /-nu : riya/ only will be used as suffix.

eg : He is not (here) = /ma : yu nu : riya :/
It is not a tree = /tunno : sulo : nu : riya :/
It is not good = /tu limmaka : u : riya :/
A one word equivalent, of "bad" is not found in Gadaba /limmaka/ = good.
Instead of /nu : riya/ /u : riya/ is suffixed to give the negative sense.

1.2. To express negative in past and present tenses and in causative /-nu : riya/ is suffixed.

eg : – Negative in past tense :-

Non duplicate verbs :

Transitive = did not wash = /gudiya : nu : riya :/

Intransitive = did not weep = /boro : nu : riya :/

Duplicative verbs :

Transitive = did not beat = /gogo : y nu : riya:/

Intransitive = did not fall = /logulo : nu : riya :/

Negative in present :-

Non duplicative :

transitive = not cooking = /kurru nu : riya : /

intransitive = not going = /u : y nu : riya : /

duplicative :

transitive = not seeing = /zuzu : nu : riya /

intransitive = not coming = /pig ^o piy nu : riya : /

Negative in causation :-

Non duplicative : not made to cook = /kurrubetta nu : riya : /

not made to laugh = ludo : betta nu : riya : /

duplicative : not made to beat = /gogo : y betta nu : riya : /

not made to come = /rappince ; y nu : riya : /

NOTE : The verb /rappince/ is a borrowing from Telugu where also it is causative. /betta/ is also a borrowing of Telugu word /pettu/ in its corrupt form.

21. /a-/

/a-/ is prefixed to all the duplicative verbs in their future tense and in incomplete tense of intransitives to convey negative sense

Eg. : Duplicative verbs :-

Future or habitual :

a) will not get up = /ammodo : /

will not come = /a pi : y/

will not see = /azu : /

b) will not sow = /a no : n/
 will not call = /awa : yo/
 will not hear = /awo : ^gg/
 c) will not sing = /ase : ra/
 will not play = /ame : ya/
 will not do = /ade : ma/
 will not call = /a wa : yo :/
 will not tell = /a su : no :/
 d) will not scold = /alo : wa :/
 will not run = /a du ^gg a :/
 will not wander = /a po : ya :/
 will not rain = /a pi : ^gy a :/

2.2. In 'B' of 2.1 /-w-/ came as a glide between the negative prefix /a-/ and the initial vowel of the verb.

Eg. : a + a : yo = awa : yo :

a + o : ^go : = awo ^go :

2.3 In 'c' and 'd' of 2.1 vowels are found at the end of the verb. This addition of the vowel is probably to facilitate the intonation of negative sense.

2.4 /a-/ is prefixed to the verbs of the incomplete action of the duplicative, verbs.

Negative of past incomplete :— intransitive :

having not got up = ammodo : su
 having not come = ^gapiya : su

transitive :

having not seen = azu : wo : su
 having not beaten = ago : su

2.5 /a- / is prefixed to some of the non-duplicative verbs in Future and in incomplete tenses in a similar process as for duplicatives.

It is difficult to formulate a principle to which of the verbs /a- / prefixes in negative sense.

Eg. will not sit = /a lecca :/

will not walk = /ancu : g a :/
 will not fall = /a lo : wa/
 will not pull out = /a ge : nu/
 will not reep = /aso :/
 will not bargain = /abe : ra/
 will not bath = /akima :/
 (All the duplicative verbs collected are prefixed with /a- / in future tense).

2.6 The end /-gi/, /-gu/ will change into /cca/ along with the prefix /a- / in the non duplicative intransitive verbs to form negative.

/da : gi/ = /ada : cca/
 /le : gi/ = /ale : cca/
 /bu : gi/ = /abu : cca/
 /odi : gi/ = /odi : cca/

2.7 The other non duplicative transitive verbs did not undergo any phonetic change when negative /a- / is prefixed.

/gudiya/ = /a gudiya :/
 /ge : nu/ = /age : nu/
 /so : wo/ = /aso :/
 /kima :/ = /a kima/

3.1 /-wa/ = This suffix is found only in three verbs.

/lu do/ = /ludo : wa/ (will not laugh)

/bu ro :/ = /boro : wa/ (will not weep)

4. There are certain verbs which do not accept any suffix or prefix of negative sense, but the sense is conveyed with an intonation at the end of the word.

/geglca :/ ^o

/kurru :/ ^o

/bela : m/ ^o

/ottey / ^o

/oggo:y/ ^o

/sopiy/ ^o

5. Inability :

To express ability /go ^o g/ is added to the verb and inability is expressed by adding—ago : ga/ to the verb. The negative factor /a-/ is prefixed to the suffix /go : ga/

(I) can laugh = ludo : go:ga : ^oni : y

(I) can not laugh = ludo ago : ga : ^oni : y

(I) can cook = kurro go : ^oga ni : y

(I) can not cook = kurro ago : ^oga ni : y

(I) can beat = gogo y : go : ^oga ni : y

(I) can not beat = gogo : y a go : ^oga ni : y

(I) can come = impi : ^oy go : ^oga ni : ^oy

(I) can not come = impi : ^oy ago : ^oga ni : ^oy

6. Negative incomplete :-

In negative incomplete /-ka/ is suffixed to the verbs. This is added to the verbs of all kinds. This /-ka/ is probably a corrupt borrowing from Telugu. In Telugu /-aka/ is used to convey negative meaning.

Eg. : having not cooked = /kurruka/

having not beaten = /gogo : y ka/

having not laughed = /ludo : ka/

6.2. /-ka/ is joined over /-nu: riya/ as an additional negative suffix.

not having laughed = /ludo: nu: riya:ka/

not having seen = /zuzu: nu:riya: ka/

XII General Nature Of The Gadaba Verbs

1. The number of syllables in the verbs range from one to three.

/gir/ = to rain

/dug/ = to run

/zu:/ = to see

/ge:no/ = to draw

/kurru/ = to cook

/beba:r/ = to bargain

/modugu/ = to wake up

/ollu bu' = to drop as from tree

/gudiya/ = to wash

2. End vowels in the verbal forms are :

-a = /gudiya/ ; /ge^oca/

-u = /bu;gu/ ; /lo:gu/

-u: = /zu:/ , /u:/

-o = /so:go/ , /re;bo/

-o: = /do;yo:/ , /bi:do:/

-e: = /me:/ ; /na:ne:/

-i = /le:gi/ , /da:gi/

/-i:/ = /odi:{ , /e^o : gi :/

3. The end consonants in the verbal forms are

/m/ , /n/ , /g/ , /w/ , /w/ , /y/ , /r/ , /l/

Eg: kima : n = to bathe

bela : m = to spread

go : y = to beat

bo : ^eg = to put

gu : ^ew = to hunt

to : w = to remove

se : r = to sing

sa : l = to lick

4.1. Duplication is an interesting feature of Gadaba verbs. It is difficult to formulate any principle, on which verbs the duplication occurs.

4.2. Out of the 77 verbs collected, 44 undergo duplication and 33 are non duplicatives.

	Dupli	Non-Dupli	
transitive	37	15	= 52
in transitive	7	18	= 25
	<hr/> 44	<hr/> 33	<hr/> 77

This duplication occurs both in the transitive and intransitive verbs without any distinction.

4.3. Out of 33 non - duplicative verbs, only five mono-syllabics are found. Other are bisyllabics and trisyllabics.

Out of 43 duplicative verbs 16 are mono syllabics and 26 are bisyllabics and one is trisyllabic.

4.4. Verbs with two or more syllables and which do not end in /-o:/ do not get duplicated.

Eg. ; /bela : m/ ; /bulu/

4.5. Exceptions :

/lo : gu/ = to fall, /modugu/ = to wake up

These two intransitive verbs, even without /-o/ at the end undergo duplication.

In 38 non duplicative verbs eight verbs are not governed by this rule.

/so :/ = to bear fruit

/u:/ = to go

/gu : w/ = to hunt

Though the above three are monosyllables they did not get duplicated.

/bo ro :/ = to weep

/kurro:/ = to cook

/lu do:/ = laugh

/o : bo :/ = to bite

/so pi ^o y/ = to steal.

Though the above five verbs end in /-o:/ and are bisyllabics they are not duplicated. A detailed analysis of more verbal forms is necessary to find out whether the verbal forms, derived from nouns, fall into the group of non duplicatives or follow some other principle.

In the above eight examples given under exceptions, they have their corresponding nouns. There may be many more like that.

The nouns will be used as verbs also without any change in the form.

/bullu/ = fruit - /bullnr = to ripen

/kima:n/ = bath /kima:n/ = to bathe

/ludo/ = laughter /ludo/ = laugh.

XIII Process of duplication

1. Duplication occurs to a certain group of verbs and only in certain tenses. In other tenses they behave like any other non duplicative verb.
- 2.1. In past, Future tenses and on verbs of incomplete action, future negative the verbs behave as the non duplicatives.
- 2.2. In present, ability, and negative forms these verbs exhibit their special feature of duplication.

Egs. : Positive sense :

Past : I bet = go ; yo ; ni ; y^o

present continuous : I am beating = gogo : y ni : y^o

Future : I will beat = goy tu ni : y^o

Incomplete : having bet = goyo : su

ability : can beat = gogo : y gog lo : w^o

causation : made to beat = gogo : y betta : wo : ni : y^o

Negative sense :

I did not beat = gogo : y nu : riya : niy^o

I am not beating = gogo : y duttu nu : riya : niy^o

I will not beat = ago : y ni : y^o

having not bet = gogo : y ka

can not beat = gogo : y ago : g a : ni : y^o

not made to beat = /ggo : / \rightarrow ggo : nu : riva

3.1. The duplicative verbs can be divided into three groups basing on the process of duplication.

3.2. Some verbs repeat their first syllable only. The last consonents in this group of verbs are y, r, l, n (-cv (or)-c) the words may end either with a vowel or a consonent.

Eg. : to trample = /te : no/ \rightarrow te te : n duttu

to shake off as dust = /zi : ro/ \rightarrow zizi : r duttu

to lick = /sa : lo:/ \rightarrow sasa : l duttu

to dig = /la : yo:/ \rightarrow lala : y duttu

to beat = /go : yo:/ \rightarrow gogo : y duttu

to comb = /sa : ro/ \rightarrow sasa : r duttu

to sing = /se : r/ \rightarrow sese : r duttu

to tell = /su : n/ \rightarrow susu : n duttu

to fill in = /ti : lo/ \rightarrow titi : l duttu

3.2.1. If the first syllable has a long vowel it will be shortend in duplication.

/te : no/ \rightarrow te te : n

/se : r/ \rightarrow se se : r

3.2.2. If the word ends in a vowel, it will be lost in the duplicated forms.

/sa : ro:/ \rightarrow sa sa : r duttu

la : yo : \rightarrow la la : y duttu

3.2.3. Exceptions :— Three verbs behaved differently even though they have y, n, r in the end position. They duplicate as the 3rd group.

/odo/, /do : yo/, /gi : r/

4.1. The verb forms that have '/g/, /b/ and /d/' at the penultimate position (-cv) form the second group.

The initial consonant and vowel (cv-) repeat at the end of the word to form duplication.

/ge : bo/ → gebige : = to flame

/lo : gu/ → logu lo : = to fall

/go : do/ → godu go : = to cut

/mo du/ modu mo : = to wake up

/ge : do/ → ge di ge = to search

/bi : do/ → bi di bi : = to spread

Note : The end vowel of the verb changes in harmony with the vowel repeated.

4.2. The initial long vowel becomes short. In duplication the long vowel remains as such. If the initial vowel in the word is short it becomes long when repeated at the end.

mo du - modu mo :

4.3. The fonetic changes of three verbs or exceptions to the above rules.

i : do : - i diy = the long vowel repeated at the end became a glide.

so : bo : - sopso : = /b/ became unvoiced /p/

re : bo : - rewre = middle /b/ became /w/ and clustered with /r/

5.1. Rest of the duplicative verbs fall in the third group.

5.2. The whole word will be repeated with some phonetic changes.

Eg. : do : no → don do : n

do : yo → do y do : y

5.3. In bi syllabics the first syllable is shortened and the end vowel is dropped while getting duplicated.

do : no → do : n + do : n

do : yo → do y : do : y

o : go → o^g o : g

5.4. The initial long vowel becomes short.

don + don = don do : n

do : no : - don don = to carry

so : go → so^g so : w = to sell

ti : yo : = ti y ti : y = to carry

do : yo : - do y do : y = to flame

no : wo → no^w no : w = to swallow.

de ; mo : - dem de : m = todo

zu : - zuzu : = to see

gi : m - gim gi : m = to winnow.

to : g - tog to : w = to pound

lo : g - log to : w = to scold

bo : g - bog bo : w = to put

dug - dug dug - to run

gir - girgir = to rain

5-5. Though /t:o/, /do : yo/ and /do : no/ belong to group I (because of Y - /r - n/) they are governed by the changes that take place in third group.

6. Certain phonetic changes are found in the process of duplication.

/g/ at the end of the verb becomes /w/ in the duplicated form.

/so : ^og/ - /sog s : ^ow/

6.2. /-w/ at the end of the word becomes -g/ in the first part of the duplicated form.

/no : ^ow o - /nog no : ^ow/

7. There are certain verbs which show some peculiar phonetic changes without any reference to particular group.

picco : - piy piy (cc→y)

occo : - oy woy (cc→y)

pi : ^og i - pim piy (g → y)

so : b - sop so : b → p

so : wo : - sok so : w → k

to : wo : - tok to : w → k

re : bo : → rew re : b → w

}

3rd group.

The ways of duplication are three. But in the process there may be many phonetic changes. The data is not adequate to establish the principles of phonetic changes: A definite pattern of phonetic change is not noticed in the third group of verbs.

T E N S E

1. Past, Present, Future, incomplete, ability and causation are expressed by adding different suffixes to the verbs irrespective of their duplicate or nonduplicate nature.

2. In past and future tenses the transitive and intransitive verbs have different suffixes.

TENSE		SUFFIXES
	Transitive	Intransitive
Past	/-g ^o :/, /-o/	/-gi/, /-gu/
Future	/-tu', /-ntu/	/-lo:w/, /-le/
Present	'-duttu'	/duttu/
ability	/-gog ^o lo:w/	/-gog ^o lo:w/
incomplete	/-su/	/-su/
Negative incomplete	/-ka/	/- ka/
Negative ability	/-ago:w g ^o a:/	/-ago:w g ^o a:/

3. All the tense inflexions follow the verb form, and The pronominal suffix follows the tense inflexions Verb + Tense suffix + pronominal suffix.

Eg. Kurru + duttu + no:w (present)

Kurru + tu + ni:y (Future)

4. /-g^o:/, /-o/, with suffixes to be used with the transitive in past tense irrespective of the verb being duplicative or non-duplicative.

4.2. In a collection of 47 transitive verbs /-g^o:/ is found as the suffix. In 28 verbs in past tense.

(so:w g^o) = broke

(ti:y g^o) = carried

(o:bo g^o) = bit

(ge:mo g^o) = drew out

4.3. /-g^o:/) is suffixed to bisyllabic transitive verbs, if they end in a vowel.

Duplicatives :

/teno : g^o :/ = trampled with feet.

/no : wo : g^o :/ = swallowed

/tiyo : g^o :/ = carried.

/la : yo : g^o :/ = dug

Non-duplicatives :

/kurro :/ : g^o = cooked

/o : bo : g^o :/ = bit

/oggocco : g^o :/ = killed

/sig iro : g^o :/ = sold

4.4. /o:/ appeared on monosyllabics that end in a consonant.

to : g^o + o : = to : g^o o : = grinded

lo : g^o + o : = logo : = scolded

bo : g^o + o : = bo : g^o o : = put

ze : r + o : = ze : ro : = shaked

a : y + o : = a : yo : = called

so : b + o : = so : bo : = baught

4.5. If the verb ends in a vowel the suffix /-o:/ is changed to /wo:/. /wo/ can not be considered a separate suffix.

zu : + o : = /zu : wo :/ = to see

4.6. As an exception two bisyllabics are also followed by /-o:/
 /gudiya + o :/ = /gudiya : wo :/ = washed

/geg^čca + o:/ = /geg^čca : wo:/ = chewed

4.7. As an exception. , -gi/ and -gu/ that are common on intransitive verbs, appeared on five transitive verbs.

/-gi/ me : gi : = /played (dupli)

da : gi : gi : = claimed (n. dupli)

gu w^č gu : gi = hunted (N. Dupli)

/-gu/

so : gu = yield

beba : r gu = bargained.

5. Past-intransitive :

Out of the 29 Intransitive verbs /-gi/ appeared on 12 verbs.

5.1. /-gi/ is added to the verb ending in /-e:/ /-i:/ or /-gu/ and also to the verbs borrowed from Telugu.

go : gi + gi = go : gi : gi = died

e : gi : + gi = e : gi : gi = slept

lo : gu + gi = lo : gu : gi = droped down

bu : gu + gi = bu : gu : gi = hide.

and on Telugu borrwings as :

za : re : + gi = za : re : gi = slipped

egire : + gi = egire : gi = flew

a : ge : + gi : = a : ge : gi = stopped.

Note : /-gi/ is probably a shortened form of the Gadaba verb /u : gi/ = went. In Telugu /po : yindi / is an indipendent verb in the past tense meaning went. However it is used as a suffix to the verbs on past tense optionally.

etc. : /padi po : yindi/ = fell down

/nidra po : yindi/ slept

/u : di po : yindi/ = dislocated.

This habit of adding an independent verb meaning 'went' /u : gi/ on the past form might be an imitation of Telugu.

5.2. /-gu/ is found as the suffix to ten verbs in past sense.

tiyi : r gu = grew

seggo : r gu = became angry

buro : l gu = lieved

buto : ^gg gu = afried

dug gu = ran

kima : n gu = bathed

ludo : gu = laughed

buro : gu = wept

bullu gu = ripened

modu gu = got up

du : gu = exhisted.

5.3. The above verbs ending in /ɔ/, /ɪ/, /ə/, /g/, /u:/ /ɛ/ /o/ appear to belong to a group. The data is not enough to formulate any generalisation basing on the little observation.

6. Exceptions

Instead of /-gu/

/-gi/ is suffixed to /-o:/ ending verb

Eg. : /po :/ = to wander = /pogi/ = wondered

6.1. /-o:/ a suffix on transitive verbs, appeared on an intransitive verb /ase : r/ = to come

/asi : ro:/ = came

6.2. The verb /pi : ^og/ ender in /-i/ in the past tense.

The data is not enough to establish /-i/ as a suffix.

6.3. /le : gi/ = sat. This verb is used without any suffix added to it. The same is used as the base in other tenses also.

u : gi = past

u : gi duttu = present

u : gi lo : ^ow = Future.

6.4. gebo : ^og o : = flamed

gi : ro ^ogo : = rained

ase : ro : = cried

ancug ^oo : = walked

In the above four instances we find the suffix /-o:/ that usually appears on transitive verbs.

Future tense :

7.1. /-tu/ or /-ntu/ are used as suffixes on transitive verbs to form future tense.

7.2. /-tu/ is added to the verbs that end in a consonent.

Op tu = will grind

bela : mtu = will spread

a : y tu = will call

do : y tu = will call

^otog tu = to pound

og tu	= will hear
dem tu	= will do
go : y tu	= will strike
sa : r tu	= will comb
sok tu	= will sweep (in the sense of cleaning)
log tu	= will scold

7.3. Vowel ending transitive verbs are followed by /-ntu/
 sa : ro : ntu = will comb

mo : wo : ntu = will swallow

dono : ntu = will carry

go : do : ntu = will eat

ge : no : ntu = will draw as from a well.

sopiyo : ntu = will steal.

7.4. As an exception to this – three verbs ending in an vowel take the suffix /-tu/
 kurru tu = will cook

geg ca : tu = will chew or masticate

zu : tu = will see

8. /-lo : ^ow/, /-le :, /-lo :/ are the suffixes denoting future tense on intransitive verbs.

8.1. /-lo : ^ow/ is the principle suffix on intransitives in future tense, /-low/ is added as a suffix to verbs when their subjects are in 3rd person. However this rule does not apply to subjects of 3rd person plural human forms.

ma : yu mo : low = He will get up (He, She it and they (non human)

ma : yu pi : y [⊕] low = He will come

tu : nu tiyi : r lo : [⊕] w = That will grow

te : nu bu : guy lo : [⊕] w = This will draw

awiwo : sig irilo : [⊕] w = They will sell

iwiwo : dug lo : [⊕] w = There will go

ma : yu po : y lo : [⊕] w = She will wander

8.2. When the subjects are in first person singular number the verbs take the suffix /-le :/

ni : [⊕] y ludo : le : ni : [⊕] y = I will laugh

niy pi : [⊕] y le : [⊕] y = I will come

8.3. When the subjects of the verb are in Ist person plural, IIInd person singular or plural, and IIIrd person human being, the verb will take /-lo :/ as its suffix to form future tense.

I person—plural :—(ne : [⊕] y) ludo lo : ne : [⊕] y = (we) will laugh

(ne : [⊕] y) pi : [⊕] y lo : ne : [⊕] y = (we) will come

II person—Singular :—/no:w/ ludo lo : no:w = (you) will laugh

(no : [⊕] w /pi : [⊕] y/ lo : no:w = (you) will come

Plural :—/pe : nu/ ludo lo : pen = (you) will laugh

/pe : nu/ pi : [⊕] y lo : pe : n = (you) will come

III person Plural (Human beings) :—

(a : lu) ludo : lo : ne : n = (they) will laugh

(a : lu) pi : [⊕] y lo : ne : n = they will come

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8.4 Certain exceptions to the above observations are noticed

The intransitive future suffix /-lo : [⌚]w/ appeared on few transitive verbs

Singirilo : [⌚]w = will sell

do : giy lo : [⌚]w = will climb
•

beba : rlo ; [⌚]w = will bargain

me : y lo : [⌚]w = will play

gu : [⌚]w lo : [⌚]w = will hunt

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Present Tense

9. All the verbs in present tense take the same suffix /-dutu/

Duplicative verbs take the tense suffix after the word is duplicated.

Transitive

Dupli → Pim piy^odutu = coming

gibigi : dutu = flaming

Intransitive

sese : r duttu = singing

la la : y dutru = digging

Transitive

Non dupli → ludo : dutu = laughing

boro : dutu = weeping

Transitive :-

o : bo : duttu = biting

kurru duttu = cooking

Past-Incomplete

10. /-su/ is added to the past form of the verb to express the incompleteness of the action. All the verbs, duplicative or non-duplicative; transitive or intransitive take the same suffix.

Eg. : ludo : gu su = having laughed

pi : ^og : su = having come

zu : wo: su = having seen

kurro : su = having cooked

ABILITY

11. As the expression of ability implies the future sense also—the future tense suffix is added on to the suffix, expressing ability.

verb + ability + future suffix.

u : y + go : ^og + lo : ^ow = can go

ludo : go : ^og lo: ^ow = can laugh

kurru gog lo: ^ow = can cook

11.1. To express inability /-ago : ^oga/ is added to the verb and the future suffix is not added to it.

verb + inability

u : y ^oago : ^oga = cannot go

ludo : ^oago : ^oga = can not laugh.

11.2. Pronominal suffixes on the verbs

Pronominal suffix will be added to the verb after the tense suffix.

Verb + tense + pronominal suffix

go : yo – duttu + ne : n

(They) beat + ing + 3rd person plural suffix)

12.2. Pronominal suffixes will be added to the verbs in the past–future–Present Tenses and in ability causation of the positive sense.

past = ludo : ni ^o y = I laughed

Future = lodo : lo : w ^o ni ^o y = (I) will laugh

Present = ludo : duttu ni ^o y = (I) am laughing

ability = lu ^o : gog lo : ni : y = (I) can laugh

causation = ludo : betta : wo : ni : y = (I) made (them) laugh

12.3. pronominal suffixes are not added to the verbs of incompletion.

ni : y ludo : su = (I) having laughed

ni : y zuwo : su – I having seen.

12.3.1. Pronominal suffixes are not added to verbs in the past present, tenses and verbs of in complete action.

ni : y ludo : nu : riya : = I did not laugh

ni : ^o y ludo : duttu nu : ri : ya : = I am not laughing

ni : ^o y ludo ; nu : riya : ka = (I) having not laughed

CONJUNCTION

1. There are no conjunctions as such in Gadaba language. Intonation alone serves the purpose of conjunction.

ni ; ^o yyu : / ne : ^o y bu ya : w adiwi u : giniy

I (and) my brother went to the forest.

2. Indipendent words like /miyo/ = again are used to join the words.

3. /-sa : ^o w/ is a suffix which denotes "also"

ni : ^o y sa : ^o w pi : ^o gi = I also came.

CLASIFIED VOCABULARY

NOUNS

Animals

Adaw ^o = Fish

..

bogte : l ^o = She buffalo

budubu ^o = snake

dibbagime ^o = sheep

elti gime ^o = goat

gibi ^o = pig

gisiy	= hen
gikkili	= Tiger
guso	= Dog
gubo : nu	= beare
gura : y gime	= Procupine
Kirtiya :	= horse
kitya : ^o w	= cow
onaga	= mongoose
ontiya : ^o w	= calf
ro	= elephant
sugo : y	= bull

Birds and insects

gugiyā :	= crow
guna : lo :	= ant
kirig	= mosquito
pidi	= bird
pote : lu	= insect
potti	= scorpeon

Plant kingdom

a : l	= bamboo
bullu	= fruit
de : be	= trunk of a tree
dawa : ta	= flame
dayda : ^o w	= ale
diye : n	= house
dektaru	= milk
ge : yu	= rope

eyyo : w ^o	=	brinjal
jabo : du	=	jute
kiro w ^o	=	paddy
koltigiya : w ^o	=	hose gram
likki	=	grains
miricco :	=	chilly
muggugiya : w ^o	=	green gram
oliya	=	leaf
rukke : ru	=	seedling
ru ku	=	rice
rumiya	=	black gram
sa : ga	=	grass
sarri	=	flower
segsha : w ^o	=	turmeric
so :	=	unriped fruit
su lo :	=	tree
suku	=	cucumber
tintin bullui	=	tamarind
tilimilu	=	gingely
to : ta	=	mango
parri	=	boil/ulcer
sarumo :	=	fore head
gili	=	hare
buriya	=	full of
era : y	=	low
inde : yu	=	when
gidi ya : g ^o	=	late
lo ku	=	fine

giniru	= net
guda	= jagari (guda = sanskrit)
gondiri	= cloth
idiya	= meal
isa : y	= ash
iyō : w ^o	= arrow
kinco :	= winnowing implement
kuyu	= pot
lutu	= flour
ma :	= curry
mande : y	= basket
on cya : w ^o	= vesal
once : nu	= iron
onbiya :	= bow
oncu	= sword
pinda : y	= pial
pula	= sari
pu : ju	= yoke
raso :	= shelf
runu	= door/gate
sattey	= ladle (a big spoon like implement)
sendra	= dhoti
sindi	= cot
sindiri	= umbrella
sogudu	= cart

so : lu	= oil
sugo : lu	= fire wood.
suniyyu	= plough
suna	= cumb
tiricco :	= herth
tigkiy	= stone grinder
tilinu	= harness
ucco : w	= ash.

Surroundings, locations etc.

bira : w	= hill
bire : lu	= stone
bondu	= tank
da : ru	= soak (of the field)
diya :	= well
guddi	= cultivated dry land
gummi	= ditch.
kindiya :	= river
kornu	= unploughed land
liya : w	= field
mogula : cco:	= lightening
ulo : go	= thunder
sopiy	= Thief

Relationship

ariyo :	= son-in-law
a : ba	= father
busa : nu	= father's brother

buya : w	= younger brother
ge : no : g	= companion
girig	= wife's sister
ire : lu	= husband's brother
jagili	= co-son-in-law
kilo : gka : r	= father of daughter-in-law
kimbo : y	= wife
kima : nga : y	= daughter-in-law
kina : ru	= mother-in-law
mara : ge : ru	= brother-in-law
oduwo : n	= son
onuwo : n	= daughter
rimo : lu	= husband
tona : n	= sister
umbo :	= mother's sister. —

Parts of the body :

bo :	= head
diley	= stomach
e : nlu	= fingers
ginne	= teeth
gum pa : w	= hump
kinca	= waist
konro : w	= throte
leliya : w	= tongue
mama	= breast
mi y	= nose
mo :	= eye

mo : pa : pa	= eye ball (/-pa : pa/from Telugu as in /kanupa : pa/)
nintiri	= ear
parri	= boil/ulcar
potti suley	= (/potti – /from Telugu abdomen = / pottikadupu/ –
sera : lu	= temples
susu [◎] w	= leg.
suley	= stomach
titti	= hand
tume :	= mouth
udda : [◎] w	= neck
..	

Numericals :

bo :	= Hundred
igge : nu	= Three
igge : no :	= Third
kande	= Hundred
mba : ru	= Two
mba : ro :	= Second
moley	= five
moleyo :	= fifth
mu : yu	= One
mu : yo :	= first
u : nu	= four
u : no	= Fourth.

Pronouns :

Awiwo :	= those (Telugu borrowing)
iwiwo :	= these (Telugu borrowing)
la : yu	= who
ma : yu	= she/he

ma : di pa : y = why

ma : di bo : w = with what

na : y[◎] = we (inclusive)

ne : yy[◎] = we (exclusive)

ni : yy[◎] = I

no : w[◎] = you (singular)

pe : nu = you (plural)

te : nu = this

tu : nu = That

umbolo = which

Adjectives, adverbs & propositions

alugu = under

bit iy[◎] = saltish

diley = short

buriya = full of

e ra : y = how

gidiya = late

inde : yu = when

ima : ru = dirt

isa : y = black

loko = good, alright.

limmaka = good

limmaka u : riya = bad

liya = heavy

logga :[◎] = much

meyye : n = little/short

modo = big

ole : y	= quick
ottey	= on
orubo : nu	= near
so pu : r	= lean/slim
subbulu	= sweet
tenno :	= here
tunno :	= there
sey do :	= calm/slow
seggo : ru	= angry
sullo : w	= far off
tiyi : ru	= long
teriya :	= white
tedi	= this way/this manner
tudiya	= that way/that manner
ummono	= when
u : ydibo :	= in the middle
warra	= Hot taste as of chillis (a borrowing from Telugu)
wa :	= now

V E R B S

a : y	= to call (dupli-trans)
ancu : g	= to walk (non dupli-intrans)
ase : r	= to shout (non dupli-intrans)
bela : m	= to spread (non dupli-trans)
beba : r	= to bargain (non dupli-trans)
bi : do :	= to scatter (dupli-trans)
bo : g	= to put (dupli-trans)
boro :	= to weep (non dupli-trans)

bullu	= to ripen (non dupli – intrans)
buro : l	= to live (non dupli – intrans)
buto : ^g g	= to be afried of (non dupli – Intrans)
bu : gu	= to hide (non dupli – intrans)
cekke :	= to chop off (Telugu borrowing)
da : gi	= to climb (non dupli – intrans)
de : ma : to do	= (dupli – trans)
do : no	= to carry (dupli – trans)
do : yo :	= to cook (dupli – trans)
du ^g g	= to run (dupli – intrans)
duttu	= to be (non dupli – intrans)
i : gi	= to sleep (non dupli – intrans)
egire :	= to fly (Telugu borrowing)
ge : bo :	= to flame (dupli – intrans)
ge : do :	= to search (dupli – trans)
ge ^g gca :	= to chew (non dupli – trans)
ge : no : ^g g	= to draw as from well (non dupli – trans)
gi cce : y	= to pinch (Telugu barrowing)
gi : r	= to rain (dupli – intrans)
gi : m	= to winno (dupli – trans)
go : do	= to cut (dupli – trans)
go : y	= to beat (dupli – trans)
gudiya :	= to wash (non dupli – trans)
gunje :	= to rinse as in washing the cloth (Telugu borrowing)
gu : ^g w :	= to hunt (non dupli – trans)
i : de	= to eat (non dupli – trans)

kima : n	= to bathe (non dupli-trans)
ka : se :	= to bear fruit (Telugu borrowing)
kurru :	= to cook (non dupli-trans)
kutte :	= to bite (Telugu Borrowing)
..	
la : yo :	= to dig (dupli-trans)
le : gi	= to sit (non dupli-intrans)
lo : gu	= to fall (dupli-intrans)
lo : g	= to scold (dupli-trans)
lu do	= to laugh (non dupli-intrans)
..	
me :	= to play (dupli-intrans)
modagu	= to get up (dupli-intrans)
..	
mo : wo	= to swallow (dupli-trans)
nalipe :	= squeeze (Telugu)
na : ne :	= to soak in water (Telugu borrowing)
occiga	= to be quite (non dupli-intrans)
occo :	= to cut (dupli-trans)
oggo coo : g	= to kill (non dupli-trans)
ogulubo : g	= to cut down (non dupli-trans)
ollubo : g	= to drop as from tree (non dupli-trans)
ottiya : g	= to grind (non dupli-trans)
..	
o : no : g	= to sow (dupli-trans)
o : go :	= to hear (dupli-trans)
o : di :	= to tie (non dupli-trans)
..	
picco :	= to break (dupli-trans)
pi : y	= to come (dupli-trans)
po :	= to wander (dupli-intrans)
re : bo :	= to bite (dupli-trans)
sa : lo :	= to lick (dupli-trans)

sa : r	= to comb (dupli-trans)
seggo : ru	= to be angry (non dupli-intrans)
si ^o g i ri	= to sell (non dupli-trans)
ser	= to sing (dupli-trans)
so : b	= to buy (dupli-trans)
so : ^o g o	= to sell (dupli-trans)
so : wo :	= to wipe of (pupli-trans)
so pi ^o yo :	= to steal (non dupli-trans)
so :	= to bear fruit (non dupli-intrans)
su : n	= to till (dupli-trans)
su : yo	= to plough (non dupli-trans)
to : ns	= to trample with feet (dupli-trans)
tiyi : r	= to grow (non dupli-intrans)
ti : yo	= to carry (dupli-trans)
ti : lo :	= to fill up (dupli-trans)
to : ^o g	= to pound (dupli-trans)
to : wo :	= to take out (dupli-trans)
todige :	= to put on (Telugu)
u :	= to go (non dupli-intrans)
ziro :	= to shake as in cleaning durt (dupli-trans)
zu :	= to see (dupli-trans)
zu : ru	= to get down (dupli-intrans)

Verbs and their forms in different tenses

Non duplicate—Intransitive

Meaning	Root	Past	Present	Future	Negative
to cry	ase : r	ase : ro	ase : rduttu	ase : rtu	ase : ra
to walk	ancu : ^o g	ancugo : ^o	ancugduttu	ancuwlo : ^o w	ancu : ^o ga
to chap	cekku	cekke : go	cekke : yduttu	cekkeylow	
to bathe	kima : n	kima : ngu	kima : nduttu	kima : ntu	akima
to laugh	ludo	Indo : gu	ludoduttu	ludo : ^o low	ludo : wa
to weep	borō :	bore : duttu	bore : lo : ^o w	boro : lo : w	boro : wa
to keep quite	occiga	ocociga : duga	occigaduttu	occigadullow	occigaduka
to live	buro : l	buro : ldu	buro : llo : ^o w	buro : la	
to grow	tiyi : r	tiyi : rgu	tiyi : ro : ^o w		tiyi : ra

to be afried	buto : ^g	buto : ^g gu	buto : ^g wduttu	buto : ^g wlo : ^g w	buto : ^g ga
to ripe	bullu	bullugu	bulluduttu	bullo : ^g w	
to go	u :	u : gi	u : yduttu	u : ylo : ^g w	awu : ya :
to sit	le : gi	le : gi	le : giduttu	le : ^g iylo : ^g w	ale : cca
to die	go : gi	go : gi : gi	go : giydttu	go : ^g iylo : ^g w	ago : cca
to sleep	e : gi	e : gi : gi	e : giy duttu	e : ^g iy Lo : ^g w	ageya
to stop	a : ge	a : ge : gi	a : ge : giduttu	a : ge : ylo : ^g w	
to fall	lo : gu	lo : gu : gi	lo : guduttu	lo : ^g uylo : ^g w	alo : wa
to slip	za : re :	za : re : gi	za : re : yduttu	za : re : ylo : ^g w	
to fly	egire :	egire : gi	egire : yduttu	egire : ylow	

Meaning	Root	Past	Present	Future	Negative
to hide	bu : gu :	bu : gu : gi	bu : guy : dutu	bu : guylo : w ⁹	
to land down	wa : le :	wa : le : gi	wa : leyduttu	wa : le : ylo : w ⁹	
to soak	na : ne :	na : ne : gi	na : ne : yduttu	na : ne : lo : w ⁹	
to bend	onge : i	onge : gi	onge : yduttu	onge : ylo : w ⁹	
to be angry	seggo : r	seggo : rugu : gi	seggo : rduttu	seggo : rlo : w ⁹	seggo : ru
to climb	da : gi	da : gi : gi	da : giydttu	da : giylo : w ⁹	ada : cca
to get down	zu : ru	zu rugu : gi	zuruguyduttu	zuruguylew ⁹	azu : ra
to be	du	dullow : w	du : guyduttu	du : guylo : w ⁹	aduka
to spread	bela : m	bela : mu	bela : mduttu	bela : mtu	bela : m
to climb	da : gi	da : gi : gi	da : giydttu	da : giylo : w ⁹	
to chew	gegca	gegca : wo :	gegca : duttu	gegca : a : tu	gegca :

to draw out	ge : no : ^g ge :	ge : no : ^g go :	ge : no : ^g wduttu	ge : no : ^g w tu	age : nu
to wash	gudiya	gudiya : wo	gudia : duttu	gudiyawo : ntu	agudiya
to hunt	gu : ^g w	guw gu : gi	gu : ^g w duttu	gu : ^g w lo : ^g w	
to cook	kurro :	kurro : ^g go	kurrodttu	kurrutu	kurru
to kill	eggocco :	oggocco : ^g go	oggocco : ^g wduttu	oggocco : ^g wtu	oggoo : ya :
to grind	ottiya : go	ottiya : ^g go :	ottiya : ^g wduttu	ottiya : ^g w tu	ottiya : ^g w
to bite	o : bo :	o : bo : ^g go :	o : bo : duttu	optu	awo :
to sell	sigiri	sigiro : go	sigiriduttu	sigirilow	
to steal	sopiyo :	sopiyo : ^g go :	sopiyyduttu	sopiyentu	
to tie	o : di	o : di : gi	o : diydttu	odiylo : ^g w	odi : cca

Meaning	Root	Past	Present	Future	Negative
to bargain	beba : r	beba : r	beba : rduttu	beba : rlo : w ^v	abe : ra
to crop	so :	so : gu	so : duttu	so : lo : w ^e	aso :
to cut	ogulo : bo : g	ogulo : bo : go ^w	ogulo:bo:w duttu	ogulo : bo : gtu ^w ogulo:bo : w suw ^v	
to eat	i :	i do :	idiy duttu	i : tu	ayi
to drink	i : do :	i : do : go ^w	idiy duttu	ido : ntu	ae :
to plough	su : yo :	su : yo : go ^w	su : y duttu	su : yo : ntu	asu : y
to give birth	ka : se	ka : se : yo :	ka : se : yduttu	ka : se : ylo : w ^v	ka : se : ya :
to shed down	ollo :	ollo : bo : go ^w	ollo : bo : go ^w	ollubo : w duttu	ollo : bo : gtu ^w ollo :

duplicate—Intransitive

Meaning	Root	Past	Present	Future	Negative
to call	a : y :	a : yo :	aw : y ^o duttu	a : ytu	awa : yo :
to spread	bi : do :	bi : do : ^o go :	bidibiy ^o duttu	bi : ytu	abi :
to put	bo : ^o g	bo : ^o go :	bobo : w ^o duttu	bo : ^o glu	abo : wo ^o
to do	de : m :	do : mo :	demandem ^o duttu	de : mtu	ade : ma
to carry	do : ^o go	do : mo : ^o go :	dondo : y ^o duttu	do : no : ntu	ado : na
to cook	do : yo	doyolgo :	do : ydoyduttu	do : yntu	ade : y
to search	ge : do :	ge : dogo :	gedige : duttu	ge : do : ntu	age : ya :
to winnow	gi : m	gi : mo : ^o go	gingi : mduttu	gimtu	agi : ma
to cut	go : do :	go : do : ^o go	godugo : duttu	go : do : ntu	ago : do :
to beat	go : y	go : yo :	gogo : y ^o duttu	goyontu	ago : y

to dit	la : yo :	la : ^o yogo :	lala : yduttu	ala : y
to scold	lo : ^o g	lo : ^o go :	lo : ^o gulo : ^o w duttu	lo : ^o gtu
to play	me :	me : gi	meme : y duttu	meylo : ^o w
to swallow	mo : wo	mo : ^o wo : go	momo : ^o wduttu	mo : ^o wo : ntu
to reep	occo :	occo : ^o go :	occo : yduttu	awo : y
to sow	o : no:go :	o : no : ^o go :	onuwo : nduttu	ono : ntu
to hear	o : ge :	o : ^o go :	ogo : ^o gduttu	ogo : ntu
to break	picco :	picco : yo :	piypi : yduttu	pi : ytu
to bite	re : bo :	re : bo :	rewre : duttu	re : bo : ntu
to lick	so : lo :	sa : ^o lo : go :	sasa : lduttu	sa : lo : ntu
to comb	sa : ro :	so : ro : ^o go :	sasa : rduttu	sa : rtu

Meaning	Present			Future			Negative		
	Root	Past	Present	Root	Past	Present	Root	Past	Present
to sing	se : r	serugu	se : r	serlo : w	serlo : w	ase : ra	ase : ra	ase : ra	ase : ra
to buy	so : b	so : bo	so : go :	sopso : duttu	sopso : duttu	aso : *	aso : *	aso : *	aso : *
to sell	so : go :	so : go :	so : go :	sogso : w	sogso : w	duttu	so : go : w	so : go : w	aso : w
to brush	so : wo :	so : wo :	so : wo :	soko : duttu	soko : duttu	soktu	aso : *	aso : *	aso : *
to tell	su : n	su : no :	su : no :	susuw : duttu	susuw : duttu	suntu	asu : nu	asu : nu	asu : nu
to carry	tiyo :	ti : yo :	ti : yo :	titiy : duttu	titiy : duttu	tiyo : ntu	ati : y	ati : y	ati : y
to fill in	ti : lo :	ti : lo :	ti : lo :	titild : duttu	titild : duttu	tiylo : ntu	ati : lu	ati : lu	ati : lu
to pound	to : g	to : g	to : g	to : g	to : g	ato : w	to : g	to : g	ato : w
to remove	to : w	to : w	to : w	tokto : duttu	tokto : duttu	toktu	ato : *	ato : *	ato : *
to shake off	zi : ro :	zi : ro :	zi : ro :	zizi : rduttu	zizi : rduttu	ziro : ntu	azi : ru	azi : ru	azi : ru

to see	zu :	zu : wo :	zuzu : duttu	zu : tu	azu :
to tread	te : no	te : no : ^o go :	tete : nduttu	te : no : ntu	ate : nu
to draw	a : nu	a : nu	ana : nduttu	ana : ntu	^o awa : n
to send	mba : y	mba : yo :	ba : yba : yduttu	bayo : ntu	aba : y
INTRANSITIVES					
to run	dugo :	dugo :	^o dugduwdu	du : glo : ^o w	^o adugna :
to flame	ge : bo :	ge : bo : ^o go :	gebige : duttu	ge : bo : ntu	age : b a :
to rain	gi : r	gi : r	girgirduttu	girtu	agi : ru
to fall	lo : gu	lo : gu : gi	logulo : duttu	lo : guylow	alo : wa
to wake up	mo : du	modugu : gi	modumo : duttu	moduguylo : ^o w	amo : ^o da
to come	pi : y	pi : ^o gi	pi : ^o gi	^o piy lo : ^o w	^o api : ya
to wander	po :	po : gi	popo : yduttu	po : y lo : ^o w	apo : ya

I

1st Person plural (exclusive)

1. niyyu ni : y buya : w adiwi u : gini : y
= I and my brother went to the forest
2. tunno : ne : yyu gikkili pa : y zu : wo : ne : y
= There we saw a tiger.
3. ne : y pa : y gu : w bo : manci sa : rwisu
= We are skilled in hunting.
4. ne : y bo:pa : y ni : yyo : kasta sattuw duka
= Between us I have a little more strength.
5. ni : y ni:y buya : w sattuw takkuwa
= My brother (has) less strength.
6. tu gikkili ne : y pa : y zu : w o= The tiger saw us.
7. ni : y buyaw ni : y bo : nu oncu to : gusu gikkilipa : y.
oggocco : go
= My brother, taking sword from me, killed the tiger.
8. ni : y tittine : n bo : w go:yo : ni : y
= I hit it with hands.
9. ne : y mba : rju ma : gisu tu gikkilipa : y oggocco : go : ne : y
= We both killed the tiger together.
10. ne : yyu : ugo : w pi:yne : y = We came to the village.
11. ne : y pa : y andaru pogidi : gine : n = All praised us.
(((o))))

II

(1st Person inclusive)

1. no : ^ow ni : ^oyu liyo : ^ow ne : n pa : y u : gina : y
= You and I went to the fields.
2. na : yu tu : nu ceruku to : ta zu : wo : na : y
= We saw a sugar cane field there.
3. na : yu mba : rju pa : y to : totala gulo : ^ow a : yo :
= The owner of the field called us.
4. na : y pa : y lecca diyo : = He asked us to sit.
5. na : y pa : y subbulu sulo : ne : n be : do :
= He gave us sugar cane.
6. na : y nottey ^opre : ma du : gisu be : do :
= He gave us due to effection.
7. na : y de : na ma:y pa : y anta pre : ma madipa : de :
= Why has he so much effection for us.
8. ma:y a : tipa : y bitiy ^ode : na na : yo : ayde diyo : na : y
= When he said he would give, we only said no.
9. ma : yu na : y to:pa : tu na : y uggo : ^ow pi : ^ogi
= Along with us he came to our village.

III

(1st Person Singular)

1. ni : [⌚] y adiwi u : gini : y = I went to the forest.
2. tuno longa giliyne : n do : reni : y
= There I killed many rabbits.
3. a : tipa : y patnam ringini : y
= I brought them to the town.
4. tuno : [⌚] sigiru : gini : [⌚] y longa nebbule : n be : do ; ne : n
= I sold them (there) gave lot of money.
5. ni : [⌚] y pa:y nacce : nu ma : ne : n sobo : ni : y
= I bought vegetables (I) liked.
6. ni : [⌚] y o:ne : n pa : y kondirine : n sobo : ni [⌚] y
= I bought cloths for my sons
7. yin ni sopso : nanduku ni : y kim bo : y sarada pade , gi
= For bying so many (things) my wife felt happy.
8. ni : [⌚] y ko : sa : m selli deyo : bo : [⌚] go :
= She cooked meet for me.
9. ni : [⌚] y bo : [⌚] w ma : gisu idiya : i : do
= She ate food along with me.
10. ni : [⌚] yyu illi i : do : su [⌚] egi : gi ni : [⌚] y
= Having taking the liquor I fell a sleep.

IV

(2nd Person Singular)

1. no : ^ow pe : nu gikiy kina : ru uggo : ^ow u : gino : ^ow
 = You went to the village of your father-in-law and mother-in-law.
2. no : ^ow pa : y a : lu u : lo : iyo : ne : n
 = They asked you to come.
3. no : ^owbo : ^ow no : ^ow oduwo : nugu : da pi : ^ogi
 = along with you your son also came.
4. no : ^ow ko : sa:w no : ^ow kimbo : y eduru zuzu:duttu
 = For you your wife was waiting
5. no : ^ow u : ynanduku no : ^ow kimbo : y no : ^ow kanna ca : la
 santo : sinceyo :
 = For your going (there) more than you your wife felt happy.
6. mba : rju ro : ju u : yntarwa : ta no : ^ow kimbo:y one:n bo:^ow
 po : gi pi : ^ogipe : nu
 = After two days passed you returned along with your wife and children.

V

(2 nd Person Plural)

1. pe:nu midiyu liyo : ne : n bo : pa : y u : gipe : n
= You went to the fields yesterday.
2. pe : nu diye : nbo : la : yu u : riya : ne : n
= Non of you(are) in the house.
3. pe:nu sugo : yne : n ge : yune : n tigde : bogosu ^o duggu : gi.
= your bullocks have broken the ropes and fled away.
4. ni : yy ^o pe : nupa : y a : yo : ni : y = I called you.
5. pe : nu inde : ypa : y palikey nu : riya :
= you never responded (my call)
6. pe : nu ko : sam teriyoniy = I searched for you.
7. pe : nu tuna : l u : riya = you are not seen.
8. pe : nu modibella: diye : n bo : pa:y pi : ^o gipe : n
= You came to the house in the evening.
9. pe : n diye : nbo : sugo : yne : n tuna : lnu : riya.
= Bullocks was not found in your house.
10. pe : nu longa ba : da pade : gi pe : n
= you felt very unhappy.
11. pe : npa : y awi de : na : ca : la a : se :
= you have great love for them.
12. pe : nubo : awi kaba : du de : mo = They worked with you.
13. ka : ni pe : n pa : y onturo : ^o gosu awi ^o duggu : gi
= Yet they, leaving you, ran away.

VI

(Present)

1. ni : ^oyyu kata sucuw duttu ni : ^oy =
= I am narrating a story.
2. majja majja picca : occa : duttu ni : y
= In between I am smoking a cigar.
3. ni : ^oyy succunu kata no : ^ow rayra : y duttu no : ^ow
= You are writing a story (which) I am narrating.
4. no : ^owsa : poga occu : duttu no : ^ow = You are also smoking.
5. no : ^ow singibo : le : gi^ottu no : ^ow
= You are sitting on the cot.
6. ni : ^oy cokka todukkone : giniy = I have put on a shirt.
7. a : du no : ^owpa : y awa : y duttu = He is calling you.
8. wa : rediyo : sese : rdutt = Now radio is singing.
9. uw^owa : yro : ^oeggiduttune : n = All are sleeping.
10. a : du inka impiynuriya: = He is not coming yet.
11. ni : ^oyy idiya : ido : su impoy ^oduttu ne : n
= I am coming (after) taking meal.

12. no : [◦]gu ma : di de : mdey duttu no : [◦]w
= What are you doing.

13. no : [◦]w sa : idiya : ido : no : [◦]w = Have you also eaten food.

14. a : du ma : dipa : y boro : duttu = Why is he crying.

VII

Future

1. ni:yyu pe:nu uggo:[◦]w pi:y le:y
= I will come to your village.

2. pe:nu diye:nbo: dullo:ne:n
= I will be in your house.

3. pe:nu bo: ni:[◦]y sa:[◦]w liye:ne:nbo pi:y lo:ni:[◦]y
= I will also come with you to the fields.

4. pe:nu yawasa:yaw era:y dmtupe:n ni:[◦]y zutiy
= I will observe how you do cultivation.

5. pe:nu o:ne:nu bo: [◦]w ni:[◦]yy abiya: sey ley
= I will play with your children.

6. pe:n uggo:[◦]w loko:duttu = Your village is fine.

7. tu:nu igge:nu ro:juu du:gusu pi:y ley
= I shall remain for three days and come back.

8. appudu pe:nu uggo:w sangati ni:yy suntey
 = Then I will tell(our people)about your village.

9. pe:nu uggo:w la:ga ne:yyu uggo:w bo:su tudiyo:yawasa:yam
 demto:ne:y
 = As in your village we will do cultivation in our
 village also.

10. no:w one:n miya:w ni:yyu one:npa:ysa:w badibo:ba:y tiy
 = Like your children I will send my children also
 to the school.

11. niyy adiwipa:y u:yu ma:ne:ntiy
 = I will stop going to the forest.

VIII Negation

1. a : du inka:uggo : w kuw impiy nu : riya :
 = Yet he did not come from the village.

2. nebbule:n rindy nu : riya = He did not bring money.

3. la : yu titti nebbule : n ba : yba : y nu : riya :
 = Did not send the money through any body.

4. la : yu ni : ypa: y appu abe : ne : n
 = No body gives me loan.

5. anduku niyyu kilo:w uggo : w pa: y u:yago : gtiy
 = So I could not go to my relatives village.

6. ma:y pi:gina:ga:ni niyyu u:y ago:ga: ni:y
= Unless he comes I can not go.

7. ni:y pa:y susuw ne:n u:riya = I have no legs.

8. anduku ni:yyo ancuw ago:gani:y = So I cannot walk.

9. asalu a:du pi:y lodey apiy a:dey ni:y pa:y ga:y lida
= Whether he comes or not I do not know.

10. mbo: sangati ni:y bo:w suncuw nu:riya
= (he) did not tell me any thing.

11. a:du eppudusa:w intiwo : = He is always like this.

12. sumo: gidiya:w a:locince:y nu:riya
= He does not think pros and cons.

IX

Daily routine

1. niyy pa:ru:riya:kamu ey ey kurrw moduguy tey
= I got up from sleep even before dawn.

2. modumo:ga:ne sarumo gummodugusu sugc:yne:npa:y sa:ga
e:se:ntiy
= Soon after getting up after washing my face
I give fodder to the bulls.

3. diye:nbo:w andarpa:y ommo:tiy
= I wake up all (members) in the house.

4. ugge:w bo: u:gisu kaba:du zu:wo:su ni:yo diye:nbo: pigisu
 de:raw i:tiy
 = After going into the village looking after my
 work (and) returning home will drink ale.

5. ni:yy ni:y oduwo:nu ma:gisu adiw u:ylo:ne:n
 = I along with my son go to the forest.

6. giliyne:nga:ni adiw gime:ne:nga:ni tuna:lguna: gu:w lo:ne:y
 = If rabbits or dears are seen (we) hunt them.

7. ne:y mba:rju mba:r ka:widi buriy sugo:lu riytine:y
 = We both bring two full loads of fire wood.

8. saldikuw diye:n pa:y pi:y lo:ne:y
 = We come home by noon.

9. diya dima:n gusu idiya i:dine:y
 = After taking bath we both eat food.

10. ga:dise:pu e:ggy su nudiy bella: uggo:w bo: u:gisu sugo:lu
 sigirlo:ne:n
 = Taking a nap for a while go to the village by
 the evening. We sell the fire wood.

11. tu nebbule:nbo:w ka:walisinawi sopte:n e:n
 = With that money I buy requirements.

12. diye:nbo: pi:gisu idiya: ido:su egilo : ne:n
 = After coming home taking food (I) go to sleep.

13. ne:y uggo:w uwua:yro teriyo demtone e:ye
 = All in our village do similarly.

14. ne:^o sampa:dana ne:^o y pa:y sari padelow
= Our earning is enough for us.

15. biye:rpa:r nebbulu abu:yne:n
= (We) don't save money for tomorrow.

16. ro:julanni tediyo gadise:giduttu
= All the days pass of similarly.

X

Narrative—I

1. ne:^o y uggo:w bo: igge:nju o:ne:nu duttu
= There are three boys in our village.

2. a:lu eppudu mu:^o y bo: popo:y dullo:ne:n
= They always move about unitedly.

3. mu:^o y da:n pa:y muy da:note^o y ca:la a:se
= They have affection for one another.

4. igge:njuwo limmaka one:nu = The three are good boys.

5. andarupa:y sa:yam demde:m dullo: ne:n
= They help every body.

6. anduko:sam andarupa:y a:lotte^o y istam
= Therefore everybody has a liking for them.

7. mu:^o y na:du a:lb^o:w mu:yda:nu turisiylo: bira:y pa:y
tiricco:ntu sugo:lp^o a:y u:gi
= One day one (fellow) went to the eastern hill
for firewood for the hearth.

8. tu biro:w bo:w turisiylo: samduru duttu
 = There is eastern see near the hill.

9. ma:y pa:y samduru kerata:lu a:no:go
 = The see waves dragged him in

10. tu na:duwo: miyo: tuy da:nu jantuwulu ko:sam sigi
 lo:gulu:kuw adiwipa:y u:gi
 = The same day one (fellow) went to the forest
 of the side in which the Sun sets, for animals.

11. adiwiottupa:y sigi zorugusu i:dipa:y anrugu:gi
 = On the other side of the forest the Sun got
 down and took him away.

12. i:lu mba:rju inde:ypa:y sa:w pc:gisu impiy nu:riya:
 = These two (fellows) didnot return even after
 many days.

13. igge:no: loku pa:y buto:w pute:gi
 = Fear arose in the third (fellow)

14. ma:y idiya: idinu:riya: diya: idiynu:riya:
 = He did not eat food did not drink water.

15. eppudu buto:ga sulo: alo:w legidullo:w
 = Allways melocholic: (he) used to sit under a
 tree.

16. ma:y nottey tubo: puttalu pute:gi
 = Ant hills grew over him.

17. kosa:ncupa:yutta:pa:y kalisegi:gi

= Finally he merged in the ant hill.

18. uggow: w bo: andaru buto:gune:n

= Every body in the village pities (them)

XI

Narrative—2

The Story of the Tiger

1. mu:yu godume:wo:nu bane:n manda adiwibo:pa:y langu

= A shepered (cowboy) drove the sheep (cattle) to a forest.

2. ma:y bo:w eppudu ta:ta:kulu sindiri soggusu:u: ylo:w

= He always takes a palmyra umbrella with him and goes.

3. mu:y na:du mu:ygikkili tuno:n bo:pa:y pi:gi

= One day a tiger came to him.

4. tu gikkili tuwo:n pa:y somo:n tiy diyo:

= The tiger said to him "I will eat"

5. appudu tuwo:nu ma:ndiyo:de:na = Then what he said is

6. ni:y pa:y wa: nogu somo: go:na: mu:y pe:gupa:y sa:w

ade:ma:ni:y

= If you eat me now, I will not be enough. even for one intestain.

[An imitation of Telugu idiom]

7. Ka:batti padi ^o bullune:n u:ysu pi:gina
 = So if you come after ten crops (years)

8. no:w sule:y gusuguyanta lokupa:y perigeyley ^o
 = I will grow into (such) a man to fill your stomach.

9. diyo:su tu: gikkili be:w tuwo:nu su:nu
 = Thus he told the tiger.

10. appudu gikkili tudiyo:le: diyo:su prama:na:lu demo:ne:n
 tu gikkili u:gi
 = Then the tiger saying yes, went away after making promises (mutually)

11. padi bullu u:y be:do:su gikkili pi:gi
 = After a laps of ten crops (years) the tiger came.

12. tugikkili pigpi ^o y u longa a:lisem dengu
 = The coming of the tiger was delayed a little.

13. appudu tugodime:wo:nu gikkili pi:y lo:w diyo:su o:ro:su du:gu ^o
 = The sheppered was there waiting expecting (that the) tiger would come.

14. appudu gikkili apiya = The tiger didnot come.

15. tu sindripa:y sulo e:se:su putta pulugu pa:y e:se:su tu: sindri
 togne:no
 = Having put a stick to the umbrella, he having made a snake pit whole (he) hoisted the umbrella.

16. appudu sindiripa:y godimewo:nu ma:di pa:y su:no:de:na
 = Then what the shepherd told the umbrella was.

17. gikkili pi:gina: ni:yy un:go:w ne:n pa:y u:gini:y diyo su:nu
 = If the tiger comes tell him that I went for the crabs.

18. appudu tu godime:wo:nu ba:ne:npa:y zu:wo:su ma:yu uggo:w
 pa:y u:gi
 = Then the shepered having seen (the care of) the cattle he went to the village.

19. appudu tu gikkili pi:gi = Then the tiger came.

20. appudu gikkili ma:ndiyo seliya:wo:
 = Then what the tiger asked was

21. wo:yi mu:y susu:w ja:na: mba:r susuw ka mbo: u:gi diyo: su
 = Oh! one legged (fellow)where has gone the two legged (fellow) so asked.

22. tu sigripa:y tu gikkili seliya:wo:
 = That tiger asked the umbrella

23. appudu tu sinri ma:ndiyo u suno:de:na
 = Then what the umbrella told was.

24. wo: u:nu susuw wo: ja:na: ma:yu padi susuw ne:n jantuw pa:y
 sopso:pa:y u:gi
 = Oh! four legged fellow he went to catch (hunt) a ten legged animal.

25. ma:yu impiy ada:ka dukadiyo: su:nu
 = wait until he comes said so.

26. appudu gikkili ni:y pa:y u:nu susuw ne:n duttu
 = then the tiger "four legs have I

27. ma:y pa:y mba:r susuw duttu = two legs has he.

28. padi susuw ne:n jantuwu pa:y sopsopa:y u:gi
 = He went to catch a ten legged animal.

29. enta loku dengu:gide:y diyo:su gikkili buto:gusu duggu:gi
 = How big a man he would have become",
 (thinking so) the tiger ran away afried.

((((o))))

ERETTA

Page No.	Line No.	Printed as	Read as
2	20	tintunna:du	tintunna:du
2	21	unda:nd	unda:nd
5	12	bi:do	bi:do
6	17	oliga:	oliya:
11	3	Calm:	Calm/
	6	rukke:rur	rukke:ru
14	7	/-en/	/e:n/
	18	kirini	kirigi
	21	k:runu	runu
	28	kirini	kirigi
21	25	modugu	modugu
23	10	uriya	u:riya
24	11	rappinciy	rappince:y
	21	inirance	intrance
25	9	bate	bathe
	15	ludogo : ga : niy	ludogo : ga : ni : y
26	2	awo:yo:	awa:yo:
	3	a + o:yo = awoyo	a + o:go = awo:go:
	26	ottiya	ottiya

Page No.	Line Nh.	Printed as	Read as
27	14	burowa	bure:wa
	27	ludo	ludo:
29	21	mbolo :	mbolo=
29	27	ve : tito : o	ve : tito ;
30	28	a : dubo :	a : dubo ; =
31	5	a : drottey	a : dnottey
34	2	a : lu :	a : lu
	19	ba : ne : n l	ba : ne : n
35	11&12	gideya : gu	gidiya : gu
36	14	take	takes
39	14	/ -lo/ ; / ki /	/ -lo : ki
49	9	go ; yo ; ni ; y	go ; yo : ni y
	12	goyo : su	go : yo : su
50	17	fonetie	phonitic
	22	become	became
52	5	do : n + do : n	don + do : n
	19	—log to : w	loglo : w
53	1	/t : o/	/ti : yo : /
		beong	belong
54	last line	drew out	draw out
55	1	enp	end
	10	bit	bite
58	12	gi : rogo :	gi : ro ; go ;

Page No.	Line No.	Printed as	Read as
52	last line	ma ; yu mo ; lo ; w ^o	ma : yu modumo ; lo ; w ^o
60	6	There	These
	17	piy/lo : no : w ^o	piylo ; no : w ^o
61	2	biting	is biting
	3	cooking	is cooking
	10	pi : g su	pi : gisu
63	1	nuri : ya ;	nuriya :
	15	Adaw ^o	adda : w ^o
		.	..
65	13	once : nu	onco : nu
66	2	sugo : lu	sugo : lu
67	3	girig ^o	giriy ^o
68	12	tume :	tumo :
69	12	alugu	alugu
71	7	de : ma : todo	de : ma = todo
		.	.
	12	i : gi	e : gi
72	11	modagu	modugu
		.	.
	17	oggocoo ; g ^o	oggocco : g ^o
73	12	to : ns	te : no
80	6	o : no : nu	a : no : nu



THE GADABAS

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INTRODUCTION

The sixtieth Birthday celebrations of Sri Rajah R. S. R. K. Ranga Rao Bahadur, the Ex-Zamindar of Bobbili, Vizianagaram District, culminated in founding a Degree College in 1962 in Bobbili.

It was an infant college in 1966—67 when this research project originated in a strange manner.

One day in October, 1966 Sri Vavilala Subba Rao and a few other colleagues went on a walk towards Chimpi Konda four Kilometres away. At the foothill we found Raja Cheruvu Valasa, a tribal village inhabited by the Gadabas. We received a warm welcome.

This first experience soon developed into a sort of friendship. The Gadabas invited us to their village with warmth and affection. We attended a tribal wedding. We participated in the celebration of the festivals of Mother Desi and Goddess Konda Jakara. They used to give us tea, Cashew, fruits, etc., whenever we visited them.

The rapport so established was given an institutional form when the College Planning Forum launched constructive activities in the village. Faculty members Sri K. Sreerama Murthy, Sri S. Vinayakushan, Sri A. Chandramouli, and under-graduates such as Sri S. H. Gopalakrishna, Sri G. Satyanarayana, and Sri R. Jagannadham Naidu who later became lecturers in the College, participated with zeal and enthusiasm. Sri G. Subbi Reddy, the then Principal and Sri C. V. Sitharamaswamy of the Management gave unstinting support and encouragement.

The activities of the Planning Forum gave a new dimension to our inter-action.

Firstly, the Gadaba tribals' expectations were roused. They wanted a Drinking Water Well. The Planning Forum used its

good offices. Fortunately for us, Sri Chelikani Prakasa Rao and Sri Chintala Appalaswamy, both social workers, gave us moral support. We convinced Sri Kelli Venkata Kurminaidu, the President of the Panchayat Samiti who later was elected M.L.A., for three successive terms, to pay a visit to the Village and to sanction funds for a Drinking Water Well on condition that 50% of the cost should be met by voluntary labour. The Gadabas gladly accepted. True to their word, they worked in batches of fifty everyday. Sri Ayitayya, the village elder, provided the leadership. They completed the work by April 1967. Sri Kolli Venkata Kurmi Naidu inaugurated the well in the presence of Forum members. The water fortunately was sweet. The people were hilarious. Before the well was sunk, they had to trek 4 Km. to fetch a pail of water.

Secondly, taking advantage of this climate of geniality, Sri Vavilala Subba Rao embarked on the linguistic study of their language. He was assisted by Sri S. Vinaya Bhushan, the English Lecturer. Soon he gathered many Gadaba words in his lexicon. The Gadaba men and women - led by Bhimayya and Sitamma, two Octogenarians, formed into a circle around us and broke into loud laughter, songs and dances with slow steps. Sri Subba Rao recorded many of them.

Sri Subba Rao's genial personality attracted them and they vied with each other for an opportunity to answer his questions. Sri Subba Rao took the opportunity so afforded to delve deep into the roots of words, and analyse scientifically the grammar and syntax of the Gadaba language.

Sri Subba Rao completed this whole task by April 1967. He cherished submitting his thesis, so carefully prepared.

However, a mishap occurred. His jottings, notes, photographs, Cassettes, draft thesis, other memorabilia which were kept in a suit case were lost while he was travelling home by train to avail himself of summer vacation in April, 1967.

The loss of this material obliged him to take up an entirely different subject for his Ph.D. research after leaving Bobbili in 1968 to join as lecturer in the College which had then come up at Amaravati, his native place.

Thirdly, the Planning Forum conducted a socio-economic survey - - a benchmark - - of Gadabas during the same period. In conducting this survey, Sri D. R. Patnaik and Sri K. Sreerama Murthy, both Lecturers in Economics, were assisted by student volunteers. The report thus prepared was typed by Sri A. Dharma Rao who is now the Manager of the College Office. All the material and the typed script were unfortunately destroyed as waste paper a year after Sri D. R. Patnaik left the College to join elsewhere.

Thus both the research projects, completed in 1966-67, ended in disaster by what is usually called an cent per cent "act of God".

However, undaunted by difficulties, Sri Subba Rao has succeeded in writing his grammar of Gadaba language which a pionnering effort in linguistics.

The sociological and economic parameters of Gadaba culture have been presented here on the basis of field survey conducted by me in December 1991 with the help of Principal Sri Chelikani Chella Rao, N.S.S. Programme Officers, and student-volunteers.

It is hoped that these brief notes and the few photographs will stimulate more comprehensive research by academic bodies.

The Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa are a "lost people". They left their original home in the deep ravines of the Eastern Ghats three centuries ago when the newly formed Bobbili Kingdom offered employment as palanquin-bearers to Pala Anguru and others. The Raja gave them 100 acres of land for cultivation. Three or four Gadaba families set up their residences in a small village of their own. The Gadabas used to do service as

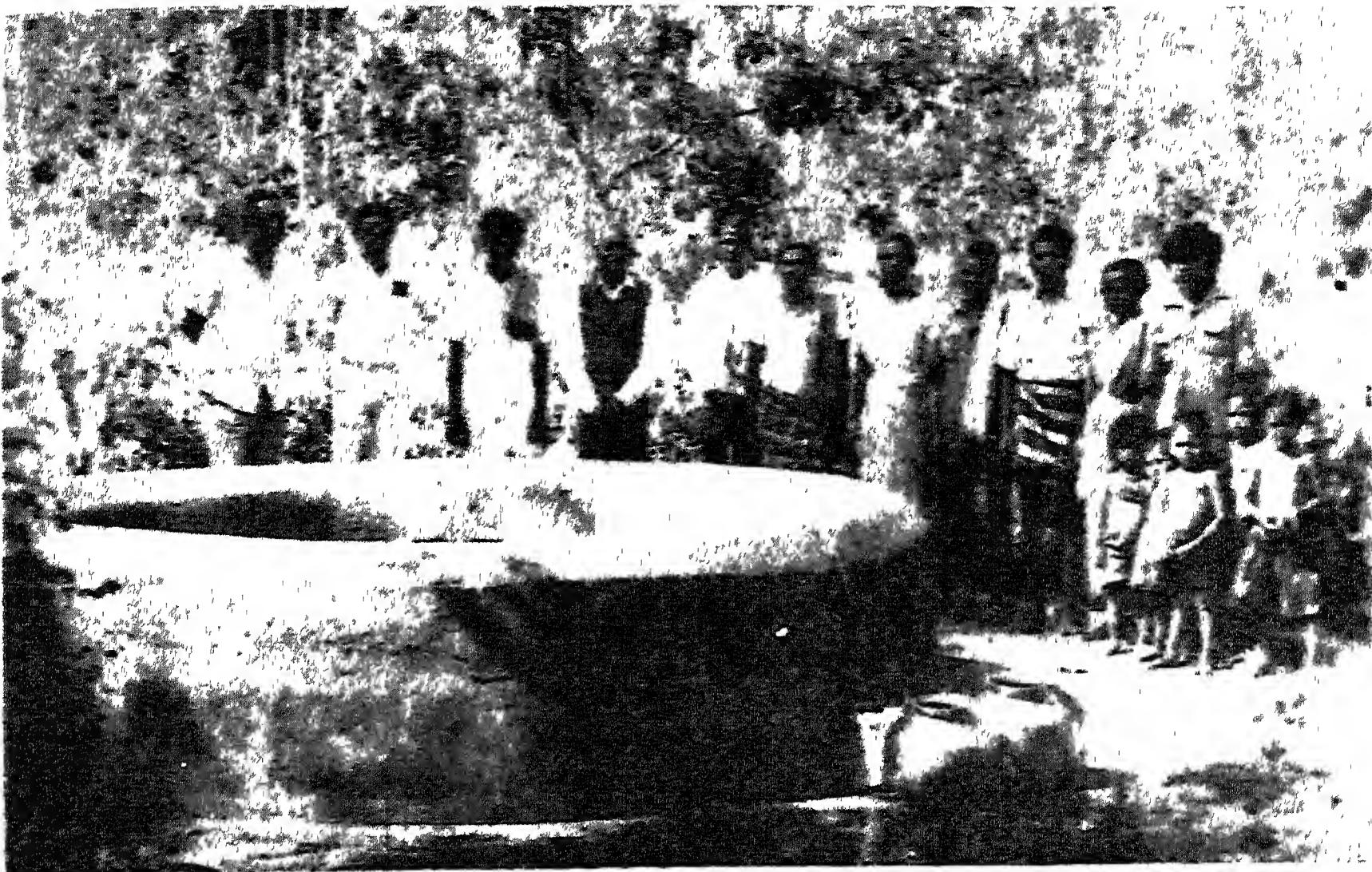
palanquin-bearers of the Raja by turns. They also cultivated their land, and earned a comfortable living. Women and some men gathered forest produce from neighbouring dense forest which helped them to enhance their earnings.

One hundred and fifty years ago, the Rajah shifted the Gadabas westward to the present location to construct a tank. The tank is known as Raja Cheruvu (Raja's tank). The new hamlet (valasa) to which the Gadabas moved is therefore known as Rajacheruvu valasa.

Zamindari abolition and denudation of forest have inflicted a severe blow on their economy. There is no Rajah to ride a palanquin. Zamindari land whose usefruct they enjoyed previously has been taken away. They have become landless. They used to make a fair living by exploiting forest produce. But deforestation has destroyed the dense forest. The Gadabas have little to fall back upon.

As a result they live in wretched poverty. Their number in the whole taluk was just 31 according to the census of 1961. Today there are just 51 Gadaba households in Raja Cheruvu Velasa.

Deprived of the means of life, the Gadabas—"a lost people"—look to the grim future with the only hope left to them that Mother Desi and Jakara Devata will take care of them.



Community Well, A Fruit of Sramadan,
by the Villagers, during 1966-67. Sri D.R. Patnaik (4th from left)
and other Social Workers along with Some Villagers.



Villagers Representing Three Generations



**Gedela Bhimaiah A Villager of
Rayacheruvu valasa Aged 80**

THE GADABAS OF RAJA CHERUVU VALASA

I. THE PEOPLE

An attempt has been made in this monograph to present and analyse the culture of the Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa covering the social and economic aspects of their life. This does not attempt to be comprehensive.

The Gadabas have some distinct cultural traits such as customs, traditions and language. They have also their own vocations and religion. They have institutions of self-government within the tribe besides modes of conduct and behaviour. Their life style has a certain individuality. All these distinguish them from other tribes and non-tribal population.

The Chief method adopted for the purpose of this study consisted primarily of close association with the villagers by frequent visits and eliciting information by oral interview. A questionnaire, brief and simple, was also used to get precise data bearing on sociological and economic aspects; trained undergraduates collected information by door to door survey of all the households. The survey was a benchmark, covered data as on 31st December, 1991. Published material was consulted whenever possible.

I. Location :

Rajacheruvu Valasa is a hamlet of Dibbaguddi Valasa in Bobbili Mandal of Vizianagaram District, Andhra Pradesh. It lies at a distance of four kilometres from Bobbili Town. But there is

not even a katcha road. People use a narrow footpath to go to Bobbili daily. However, the Railway Station, the National Highway, Post and Telegraph Offices give access to transport and communication facilities to these villagers who seldom make use of them. The village is located at $18^{\circ} 34'$ latitude North and $83^{\circ} 23'$ East longitude.

To the West lies Chimpi Konda rising to a height of 800 metres. Beyond this mountain there is a reserved forest which forms almost the fag end of the vast Dandakaranya forest along the high mountains of the Eastern Ghats covering parts of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and five districts of Andhra Pradesh. The forest yields timber, tamarind, bamboo, firewood and other products. Till recently the tiger, cheetah, leopard, bear, the wild buck and the boar, the peacock and the rabbit. But the depredations of poachers have greatly disturbed the ecology of the forest. At present, wild life is rarely found. Tigers are extinct.

2. Origin :

The Gadabas of Rajacheruvu Valasa were forest-dwellers in the beginning. Three centuries ago the Raja of Bobbili brought them to the plains to serve as his palanquin-bearers. According to local legend, the founder of the hamlet was Pala Anguru. He was accompanied by his Kinsmen with the surname of Hanumanthu (monkey) and Gedela(buffalo). They set up 4 or 5 huts on the outskirts of Bobbili. Since it was a Gadaba settlement, it was known as Gadaba Valasa. These Gadabas worked as the Rajah's palanquin-bearers. In return for this service the Rajah allowed them to cultivate 100 acres of land and to enjoy the usufruct.

This legend is corroborated by Gadipalli Narayana Rao aged 50 years, now sick, after doing a stint as a truck driver for the Integrated Tribal Development Authority until three years ago. According to him, he had personal knowledge of his grand-father

serving as the palanquin-bearer of the Zamindar of Bobbili. After his grand-father's death, this post was held by his father. When his father died, Narayana Rao himself began his career as palanquin-bearer of the Rajah Saheb and was so employed until Estate Abolition. He showed me the remains of an old, abandoned palanquin in his courtyard.

At the turn of the last century, the Valasa (hamlet) was shifted westward to its present location. The new hamlet was built in the Zamindari poramboke (waste land). Their old habitation was dismantled. In that place the Raja constructed a water tank to irrigate his farms. This tank was known as Raja Cheruvu (Raja's tank). Since the new hamlet was built near this tank, it came to be known as Raja Cheruvu Valasa. The new (present) hamlet is situated at the foothill of Chimpikonda and is close to the forest.

Before the abolition of Zamindari system in 1954, many chieftains adopted the custom of utilising the Gadabas, Wherever possible, as their palanquin-bearers, and allowed them to cultivate Zamindari land for their sustenance. This was a hoary tradition. The Gazetteer of the Vizagapatam district first published by the British Government in 1869 took this tradition for granted and stated simply: "The Gadabas are palanquin-bearers and cultivators by profession."

Thus, unlike other hill tribes, the Gadabas settled in plains adjoining forests but in close proximity to the headquarters of local chieftains and Rajas. For instance there are only 3 Gadada hamlets in Bobbili taluk. But all of them are adjacent to Bobbili town, (Rajacheruvu Valasa 4 km; Pulleru valasa 3 km; and Polavani valasa 3 km), the headquarters of the Zamindar.

Due to such interaction with the plains population, the Gadabas gradually shed many of their traditional ways of life.

Several of their customs underwent change. For their livelihood they began to depend upon the town market for the exchange of forest products like firewood. They became in other respects poor imitators of the civilization of the prosperous plains.

According to the census of 1961 the distribution of the population with Gadaba language as mother-tongue taluk-wise in the erstwhile districts of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam was : Anakapalle 33; Yellamanchili 120; Narasipatnam 1,425; Chintapalle 5; Paderu 27; Chodavaram 1,128; Vizianagaram 54 ; Bheemunipatnam Nil; Urban 157; total Visakhapatnam district 2,949. Chipurupalle 272; Bobbili 31; Salur 6,988; Parvathipuram 3,659; Urban 1; total Srikakulam district 10,951.

Vizianagaram district was constituted out of the above two districts. In this district the population with Gadaba language as mother tongue, taluk-wise, was: Bobbili 31 : Salur 6,988; Parvathipuram 3,659; Urban 1; Total Vizianagaram district 10,679.

The figures show their main concentration in thick forests of the Eastern Ghats which abound in Salur and Parvathipuram taluks of the present Vizianagaram district and Chodavaram and Narsipatnam taluks of the present Visakhapatnam district. It is also manifest that they dispersed to the foothills of Eastern Ghats in several taluks to pursue podu cultivation and to interact with the people of the plains. But such descent to the plains was limited to Zamindari areas, that too on a minuscule scale. They still cling to the hill slopes and podu (shifting) cultivation.

3. Sub-Divisions :

According to the "Gazetteer of the Vizagapatnam district" published in 1869 : "The Gadabas are split into six sub-divisions; namely, Boda Gadabas and ollar Gadabas who dine together and inter-marry; Parengi Gadabas, whose women do not wear the

bustles and chaplets referred to below; Kalloyi Gadabas; who are the only section which will touch a horse (professional pallaki-bearers naturally have no love for the rival animal) and are condemned by the others accordingly; and Kapu and Kattiri Gadabas who are the more civilized sections living on or near the plains. Each of these sub-divisions is again split into totemastic septs, but some of the low country Gadabas have abandoned these".

The tribals of Rajacheruvu Valasa are not aware of the existence of so many sub-divisions among Gadabas. According to them there are only two types of Gadabas, namely, Kattira Gadabas and Guru Gadabas. They are separate tribes. They speak different languages. There are no common words in their two languages. They are both endogamous. They do not inter-dine or inter-marry. Both tribes live together, sometimes, in the same village. But the Guru Gadabas live in rows of houses separate from the Kattira Gadabas.

The tribals of Rajacheruvu Valasa are Kattira Gadabas. They are spread over Parvatipuram, Salur, Srungavarapukota and Vizianagaram taluks. They inter-dine and intermarry. They speak a common language. Guru Gadabas also inhabit these taluks; sometimes, the same village. But they live in a separate row of houses from the Kattira Gadabas. However there is no rivalry or enmity between them.

"Guru" Gadabas are not mentioned in the Gazetteer, 1869; but "Bodo" Gadabas are mentioned. The probable explanation may be, the Gadabas in Telugu-speaking areas are known as Guru Gadabas, and those in Oriya-speaking areas as Bodo Gadabas because "bodo" is the Oriya equivalent of "Guru" in the Telugu language.

Both Guru Gadabas and Kattira Gadabas have migrated to the plains long ago. The others still inhabit the deep forests.

The taboo on touching the horse referred to [in the Gazetteer is not in vogue among Kattira Gadabas.

4. Totemism :

The Gadabas of Rajacheruvu Valasa have surnames named after animals in many cases, for example, Gedela (buffalo), Cheemala (ant), Gorrela (sheep) and Hanumanthu (monkey): From this it cannot be concluded that they are totemistic septs. In fact, on enquiry' the tribals denied knowledge of totemism.

Probably, as the "Gazetteer" surmised 150 years ago, the Kattiri Gadabas of the low country have abandoned these surnames.

It must however be noted that they are very particular about their surnames. They take pride in it. In any dispute or village brawl, people bearing the same surname group together.

Inter-marriage within families of the same surname is prohibited. The surname of the bride should be different from that of the bridegroom.

Pride of surname assumes importance in arranging weddings. When people of the bridegroom's patry come to a village seeking an alliance with a girl of that village, the bride's party heckle the bride-groom and speak derisively of his low surname. They taunt him about his low birth. They ask how it was possible for such a low person to presume upon marrying a girl of high family with superior surname. In fact, however, no surname is superior to others. But people of each surname boast of their own special merit.

5. Dress and Ornaments :

The Gazetteer of Vizagapatam District (1869) describes the traditional dress and ornaments of the Gadabas in lucid detail :

"Gadaba men dress like other hill people, but the women of the tribe have perhaps the most extraordinary garb of any in this presidency. Round their waists they tie a fringed, narrow cloth, woven by themselves on the most primitive loom imaginable, of which the warp is the hand-spun fibre of different jungle shrubs and the woof is cotton, dyed at home with indigo and *morinda citrifolia*, and arranged in strips of red, blue and white; either over or under this they wear a bustle made of some forty strands of stout black cord woven from other shrubs and tied together at the ends; on their right forearms, from waist to elbow, are a number of brass bracelets; over their foreheads is fixed a chaplet of cowsrie shells, the white seeds of the *Kusa* grass, or the red and black berries of the *arbus precatorius*; and in their ears are enormous coils of thick brass wire (one specimen was eight inches across and contained twenty strands) which hang down on their shoulders and in extreme cases prevent them from turning their heads except slowly and with care. The above are the essentials of the costume, the details differ in different places. The bustle is accounted for by the following tradition. A goddess visited a Gadaba village incognito and asked leave of one of the women to rest on a cot. She was brusquely told that the proper seat for beggars was the floor; and she consequently decreed that thenceforth all Gadaba women should wear a bustle to remind them to avoid churlishness"

The traditional dress and ornaments described above were in vogue until thirty years ago. Gadaba women, with their strikingly colourful dress, bustle, large ear-rings and neck-rings, were a common sight to see in the markets of Salur and Parvathipuram towns. But all this has changed. With a dramatic suddenness, the Gadabas have abandoned their traditional costume. At present, from Jeypore in Orissa to Srungavarapukota in Visakhapatnam district, there is not a single Gadaba woman who wears the traditional dress and ornaments.

Moysi Gangamma of Rajacheruvu Valasa, aged 45 years, knows about these ornaments and dress because in her childhood these were prevalent. But many women of the present generation do not know anything about them.

At present these women imitate the poorer women of the plains in dress and ornaments. They wear a cheap handloom saree with a blouse, but rarely underclothing. A few fashionable women wear bodices. But their number is limited.

Some Gadaba women decorate their foreheads with kum kum and its modern variants like the women of the plains, but a large number of women have not adopted this Hindu practice. Glass bangles, rolled gold ear-rings, chains and rings have come into general vogue.

II RELIGION

In a civilized society the practice of religion has both the individual and the social dimensions. It transcends the life of the individual. Gadaba religion is simple and unsophisticated. Their concept of God is neither ethereal nor universal. It is primitive and tangible.

They propitiate Mother Desi to ward off evil and Goddess Konda Jakara to protect them with her prowess.

I. Konda Jakara Devata

They celebrate the Konda Jakara Devata festival on the Itika Pournami day in the month of Chaitra every year. The celebrations last for more than three days. In olden days, they were held for a month. Their earnings being low at present, they cannot save money to afford a prolonged holiday.

On the festival day Jakara Devata is propitiated before a stone slab fixed in the ground under an old tree at the outskirts of the village. Every year the festival takes place before the same stone.

A village elder fasts that day. He washes the stone with fresh water. He sprinkles turmeric powder on the stone and puts the vermillion mark. If he is well-to-do he offers a buffalo or sheep or pig as sacrifice. Otherwise, a cock is offered as sacrifice. An oil lamp is lit before the stone. Throughout the day some one takes care to keep the lamp burning. Some people who vowed before-hand fulfil the vow by sacrificing a cock or a goat.

Men and women form into a big circle and dance and sing on that day to the beating of drums and other primitive musical instruments. Every family enjoys festive food.

Jakara Devata is fond of hunting. To please her, some of the youths go for the hunt next morning. They take with them hunting equipment. The women bid them a warm farewell invoking the Jakara Devata's grace for the success of their hunt.

The young men have a tough task. They cannot return home empty-handed. The women would abuse them and send them back, jeering and laughing. The women would call them cowards.

At sun-down when the youths return, carrying the catch of their hunt—a dead rabbit or a common crow or other wild animal—they are given a warm reception by the girls. The hunt has been a success. Konda Jakara would be pleased. She would gladly give her blessings to the brave youths, the girls, the men and the women.

The trophy is put on an improvised pedestal with a long pole. The men carry it as a palerquin on their shoulders. The procession, with men and women singing and dancing gaily, moves to the Chief's residence.

The triumphant youths bring their trophy to the Chief and demand a heavy price. In a spirit of sportive jocularity, the Chief calls it a puny animal. The youths retort claiming that they hunted it with much courage. After some dilly-dallying the Chief offers them a cash gift. The youths argue that the amount is too low. After much haranguing: a figure is agreed upon, and the youths accept the cash. The Chief then praises them for their valour and heroism. The money is used to buy liquor. They drink together with merriment and noise.

The entire village joins in the mirth that night. They express their satisfaction. The youths had been valiant. Jakara festival has been a mighty success. Their joy knows no bounds. Time and again, words of praise are showered on the brave youths. Jakara Devata has been propitiated in a fitting manner.

This in fact is only the beginning. From that day, groups of men and women go to other hamlets and villages, singing and dancing to the accompaniment of drums and horns. Wherever they go, people receive them with friendliness and give them presents of food and money.

The money so raised is used for buying toddy for community drinking.

Konda Jakara is the goddess of hunting. Gadabas believe that the way to propitiate her is through successful hunting. The catch may be big game like a boar or a stag. It may be a puny rabbit or a squirrel or even a common crow. The goddess is pleased with the offering. provided it is the result of hunting. As her children, it is their duty is to hunt on that day.

Feasting, drinking, singing, and dancing the Gadabas manifest their loyalty to the Devata.

The festival brings young men and women into intimate contact for a number of days during which new matrimonial alliances are struck up on the basis of mutual understanding and love.

2. Mother Desi

The Gadadas celebrate "Vaaraalu" to Mother Desi. They fear this goddess, for, she is the cause of epidemics and natural calamities.

The priestess of Desi Talli (Mother) is known as "Ejjaralu".

When the goddess hovers over the priestess, the Ejjaralu loses consciousness, sways forward and backward and groans and shouts like an animal. After the people gather round her she shouts the message of the goddess. She demands offerings of cocoanut, pig, or sheep or cock. She rails at the people for ignoring her. In her wrath, she threatens to inflict fever, epidemics and death on all of them.

These words are supposed to be spoken by the goddess herself. They cause terror in their hearts.

The chief and the elders beg her with folded hands to forgive them. They promise to fulfil all her demands. They would celebrate "Vaaraalu".

Then the Ejjaralu fixes the date for the celebration. The people make preparations for the celebration with fear in their hearts that if there is any flaw, Mother Desi would get angry and spare them no more.

Mother Desi is symbolised by a stone under a tree near their village. The stone lies in the open air.

They tie banners at the Eastern and Western boundaries with small branches of the neem tree, brooms, discarded baskets, wooden ladles and bamboo winnows. They are intended to give protection from the evil eyes.

On the appointed day, the women folk carry pitchers of water on their heads and proceed in a procession, to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets, to the tree of Mother Desi.

Mother Desi enters the Ejjaralu.

The Ejjaralu leads the tree procession, brandishing small branches of the neem tree, supported by women.

The women go round the three times, washing the stone slab by emptying their pitchers. They sprinkle turmeric powder and put a vermillion mark on the stone.

The sacrificial animal (a pig or a sheep or a cock) is first washed and then sacrificed before the stone.

Mother Desi likes the black colour. So they take care to select a black pig or other black-coloured animal for the sacrifice.

The ceremonial connected with the propitiation of Mother Desi is similar to “Vaaraalu” celebrated on the plains in honour of “grama devata” (Village goddess) in almost every village inhabited by people who are not tribals at all : while the Gadabas revere Mother Desi, the plains people revere goddesses with names like Polamma, Pyditalli, Maridamma, etc.

The belief in Mother Desi, credited with Evil powers, and Konda Jakara with protective powers, is common to the Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa.

No one dare certicise these goddesses.

Now and then, when a person becomes sick or when he is visited with misfortune, members of his family offer sacrifices to them invoking their aid to ward off evil.

3. Priests :

The Gadabas have their own priest to perform rituals, to conduct weddings and to fix the propitious time for any ceremony. He is known as “Chettoji Muhurta Gadu”. He presides over all ceremonial functions.

He becomes a priest by heredity. His word is respected by all the Gadabas.

Thanks to interaction with the people of the plains, some of the well to do and educated Gadabas who are in close touch with the prosperous plains people, are adopting the brahmanical almanac, Vedic ceremonials and marriage procedures etc. But this is a superficial adoption. The hold of the Chettoji has not been affected by these developments.

4. Evil Spirits :

The Gadabas believe that every dead person becomes a devil and haunts the village in the first nine days after death. He

tries to enter any house if the door is open in the night. So, the people shut the door at night and do not venture out till day break. This fear is limited to the first nine days. Thereafter the whole thing is forgotten.

Mother Desi is not an evil spirit. She is only irritable. Now and then she has to be propitiated by offering sacrifices. Once she is propitiated she does not harm.

Mother Jakara Devata is a protective spirit. She too has to be propitiated. She gives relief from fever and misfortune. When everyone falls sick, the family members offer sacrifice to Jakara Devata. Soon afterwards, the patient usually recovers.

The people believe generally that witch doctors exorcise the evil spirits haunting a person or a house. When a devil is suspected to cause illness the witch doctor is invited to the village. The witch doctor performs a long ritual and beats the haunted person until the devil leaves his body. He has to be rewarded handsomely for this service.

There are no witch doctors among the Gadabas. The witch-doctor is a Hindu residing in Bobbili. This single fact makes manifest that belief in the devils and witch-doctors is borrowed from the people of the plains, and is not truly a tribal belief.

The Gadabas believe in Chillangi (sorcery). If there is prolonged illness it is ascribed to chillangi. It is believed that the person who practises chillangi has the mysterious power of appearing in his victim's dreams. The victim soon becomes sick and dies. The Gadabas dislike sorcerers. They immediately report this to their chief. The chief, and the other people admonish the sorcerer and ask him not to appear any more in the victim's dreams. In spite of this the victim may see him in a dream. Then the villagers catch the vicious sorcerer and beat him black and blue.

Recently there was an instance of this kind. Gedela Jogayya was suspected of practising Chillangi. He denied the charge. But he was severely beaten until he bled profusely. Unable to bear this Jogayya gave a complaint to the police and the matter is pending in Bobbili court.

According to the belief of these people there are five or six women who are at present haunted by the devil. All of them have the same ailment. The ailment is prolonged fever and giddiness. People speak in whispers trying to identify the sorcerer responsible for this heinous crime. So far they could not identify anyone. These people do not consult a doctor. They do not take medicines. In the meantime the sick women's health may deteriorate further and she may die. This death, when it occurs, will be taken as a vindication of the faith in the Black Art.

Some of the educated Gadaba do not believe in all this. Moyyi Somulu who is working as a Helper in the Municipal Water Works, Bobbili, thinks that sickness or fever can be cured by medical treatment.

5. Influence of other Religions :

We will be struck by the fact that the core of their faith was not shaken by this exposure. At the same time it should be noted that the Gadabas have developed some degree of faith in some deities of the Hindu pantheon.

The christian missionaries took some initiative several decades ago to gain some converts. But the chief of the Gadabas resisted them. He told the missionaries that no meddling with their beliefs would be tolerated. Thereafter the christian missions took no further initiative. There are no christians among the tribals residing in Raja Cheruvu Valasa.

In Bobbili area Islam has negligible following. It is understandable that there are no Muslims among these Gadabas.

(a) Ugadi :

Among the Hindu festivals, Ugadi (Telugu New Year's Day) is the only secular festival. The Gadabas celebrate it in their own way. On that day they place a wooden plough on the ground after properly cleaning it. The plough is plastered with turmeric powder and decorated with vermillion marks. Then a sacrificial animal is killed on it. Its blood is poured on the plough. Its flesh is considered sacred. Every family tries to get some of the the flesh. The value of the animal is thus recovered.

b) Dasara :

The Gadabas do not celebrate this festival. However, some Gadabas attend these shows arranged by the town people but such attendance does not signify their acceptance of its religious import.

c) Bhogi :

Among the Gadabas, people with the surnames of Pulleru and Hanumanthu make bonfires of firewood on Bhogi day just as the Hindus do. These families have been doing so traditionally. The other families, traditionally ignore this festival.

d) Sankranti :

The Gadabas of all surnames celebrate this with new clothes, and feasts. They imitate these external forms of the festival. Its religious significance is ignored.

During the Sankranti season itinerant cloth merchants tour the villages and sell cloth on credit basis. This facility is not available until next Sankranti. This credit facility may be the

underlying reason for all the tribals to purchase new clothes and wear them on Sankranti day.

e) Kanuma :

On this meat-eating day of the Pongal festival, the Gadabas emulate the Hindus. It is a day of rejoicing. Cock-fights, gambling, and drinking are to be found everywhere. The Gadabas heartily join in these indulgences. No religious significance can be attached to this.

f) Dipawali :

This is the festival of lights when fire crackers are burnt by everybody. The Gadabas also burn fire crackers. But this is done without religious conviction.

g) Nagula Chaviti :

Snakes are propitiated with offerings of milk and egg by the Hindus. By doing so, it is believed, the snakes are pleased, and they will not bite. The Gadabas also have snake-fear in their surroundings. Only families having Hanumanthu and Pulleru as surname perform this ritual just like Hindus. The others do not celebrate this festival.

6. Ramanavami, Krishnajayanti & Vinayaka Chaviti :

They do not celebrate these festivals

7. Village Goddess festival :

The festival of the village goddess of Bobbili is a triennial event. It is celebrated with great pomp and luxury by citizens of Bobbili. It attracts huge crowds. On this occasion people invite relatives, daughters and sisters with their families, give them new clothes, and feast them with specially prepared cuisine. Non-vegetarians eat meat compulsorily on that day. The procession of the goddess is spectacular. The Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu valasa walk a long distance to watch the procession, entertainment programmes, fancy dresses, etc., and enjoy them, admiring the Hindu culture.

III SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Customs and traditions are the bedrock of social existence. They are handed down from generation to generation. They are the quintessence of ancestral wisdom. The customs of a society undergo changes less rapidly than for instance dress, language, faith etc., for, every society tries to preserve its identity and individuality.

The Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa have some distinct social customs.

I. Attitude to female child :

When a child is born, it is usually accepted with pleasure. The parents do not show preference for the male child. According to them a male child is as good as a female child. The male child, as he grows up, becomes rebellious. often the son goes away from the parents to live in his father-in-law's place or elsewhere after his marriage. He rarely takes care of his aged parents. The daughter, on the other hand, is more affectionate. She assists the parents in household chores, such as taking care of younger children, sweeping the house, fetching water from the well, tending cattle, cooking, serving food, etc. When she grows up, she assists her parents in agricultural operations, and in getting headloads of firewood from the forest. At the time of marriage, the daughter brings in bride money from the bride-groom. The son, on the other hand, is a liability. He pesters his parents to part with money to pay bride price for his marriage. As years roll by, the son gradually veers away, often quarrelling with parents. Not so, the daughter. The daughter pays friendly visits periodically and enquires after the welfare of her parents. The Gadabas, therefore, are more attached to their daughters than to their sons.

But these considerations do not engender an attitude of antipathy towards the son. The Gadabas preserve a sound egalitarian outlook towards both sons and daughters.

2. Pregnancy :

Pregnant women are treated with much consideration. The men relieve them of arduous duties. The husband exercises restraint in beating his wife so long as she is big with child.

When the daughter becomes pregnant, her parents take presents of rice-paste and meat of chicken to her. She is fed first with these; and all others take their food along with her.

3. Delivery :

Delivery takes place at the parent's house of the wife for the first few issues. It may also take place at the husband's parental home. The question is one of financial soundness. The relatively well off parents assume this responsibility.

Delivery takes place at home. Nobody goes to the town hospital for delivery. There are traditional midwives in the village. These midwives take full care of mother and child. The midwife is given food for the first three days. She gets a cash reward for her service.

4. Naming Ceremony :

On the third, ninth or eleventh day after birth, the child has to be given a name. The Gadabas invite relatives. In the presence of kinsmen, the husband's parents arrange the naming ceremony.

They wash a cock first. Then they offer grains of rice to the cock. A name is suggested. "Are you Bangaramma?" One asks. The cock may shy away from touching the grains. Three times the same name is proposed. If the cock does not touch food, it is believed that the particular name is not suitable to the child.

Then someone proposes a second name. The cock is given three chances to express its consent to the name. If it does not eat the grain, a third name is proposed.

It is believed that Konda Jakara enters the body of the cock at this ceremony. The cock touches foodgrains only when a name pleasing to Jakara Devata is mentioned.

The process is repeated until finally a name is endorsed by the cock.

Usually the catalogue of names consists of the names of near relatives.

If the child to be named is a girl, the name suggested need not be that of a female. The names of ancestors belonging to both sexes are called.

Once the cock playing proxy for Jakara Devata approves a name, it is possible to use that name in the masculine or feminine form depending upon the sex of the child. For example, if the cock responds to " Bangarayya " the girl-child is called " Bangari " or " Bangaramma ".

Children thus are named after one of their ancestors strictly on a lottery basis.

The Gazetteer of the Vizagapatam district (1869) states that " Gadaba Children, like those of other primitive tribes here, are usually named after the day of the week on which they were born ". This custom is not prevalent among the Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa.

The custom they follow is to leave it to the cock to approve one ancestral name from out of a list, of names. The name so selected, is given to the child.

5. Puberty :

When a girl attains puberty, she is made to sit on a mat. She should not move from this mat until the bathing ceremony after which she can move freely. Kinsmen are invited to the fun-

ction on the 3rd day or the 9th day depending upon the financial status of the parents.

This custom appears to have been borrowed from the practice of the people of the plains.

6. Pre-Marital Sex :

Pre-marital sex is not approved by the Gadabas.

When going to the market or when collecting firewood from the forest, young girls come into close association with men who sometimes seduce them. Once this has happened, the girl develops a sort of affection for the man, and the two move together as often as possible. Soon these clandestine meetings are noticed, and gentle hints are given to the parents.

The parents, without directly mentioning their suspicions, gently warn the girl. But these affairs still go on as usual. The boy's friends, give him every sort of encouragement. The affair becomes an open secret. But even then, the parents do not very much interfere.

On the other hand, if the boy is a hard worker and is well to do, the parents do not disapprove the girl's fascination. They give them gentle hints of approval for their marriage.

Pre-marital sex is not an overt practice among the Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa.

7. Marriage :

Marriage, among these people, takes place in several ways. a) arranged by both parents, b) arranged by parents of bride-groom only, c) love marriage, d) Post-marital sexuality, e) Re-marriage.

The girls' parents feel no anxiety about performing their daughter's marriage. They need not search for a match.

They demand bride price. The bride-groom should pay whatever amount is demanded. If he cannot pay the amount, he would have to seek a less eligible girl whose parents are willing to accept the lower brideprice offered by him.

Men and women can marry any number of times.

a) Arranged by Parents of Both :

Since the families are already known to each other, the parents of both parties know the merits of either side, and may hope that an alliance between them is of mutual advantage. In this case, the parents of the boy take cautious preliminary steps. Usually, they send small children to the bride's house to sound the girl and her family about their intention. The children broach the subject very gently, in a casual conversation, or in the form of sport and fun. These hints are repeated at intervals of time.

In case the bride's party responds favourably the Kinsmen of the bride-groom take initiative by indirectly suggesting the alliance in vague and gentle hints to the kins of the bride. The bride's parents may feel pleased inwardly. But outwardly they speak haughtily. They allege that the boy's family has a low surname, and that he is not a match for their girl in physical form or beauty; he is silly and frivolous and incapable of hard work. Saying how dare they seek alliance with their daughter ?

Undaunted by these words which every bride's father is expected to say on such occasions, kinsmen of the youth persist, at reasonable intervals, to pretend to persuade him to accept the match for their sake, because they are always there to look after the welfare of the girl. The conversation proceeds on these lines for some time; the bride's parent refusing to hear their pleas, and

the youth's kinsmen praising the merits of the boy and his family. After a long and heated discussion, the father of the girl poses a tentative question: would the boy be able to pay the heavy bride price his daughter is worth ?

If the boy's parents are rich, the bride price may be as high as Rupees five thousand. Often the amount demanded finally may not exceed Rupees one thousand. The minimum bride price is of course Rupees two hundred. No parent accepts a lower amount.

The Kinsmen of the boy are now satisfied. The ground has been prepared. The bride's father, in his greed, is only demanding an excessive bride price. But he has expressed his acceptance of the proposal. When once things have come to this pass, the third stage of negotiations can be entered into without fear of rebuff.

At this stage, the Chiefs of both sides, and the kinsmen negotiate the bride-price, after much bargaining.

The youth has to pay the bride price to seal the agreement ; he should give a sumptuous dinner and liquor to the chiefs and other middlemen who negotiated.

The bride's father sometimes demands land and gold and silver besides bride-price depending upon his capacity to pay.

The marriage is celebrated by the Chettoji Muhurta Gadu.

b) Arranged by the Boy's Parents :

After the preliminaries as detailed above have been gone through, the boy's parents may be satisfied with the match, but the girl's father may remain adamant.

Then through secret messages the girl's consent is obtained.

With the girl's connivance, one day the boy comes to the outskirts of the village with his kinsmen, and when the girl meets him at the rendezvous, the party moves away without intimating anyone.

The disappearance of the girl would soon be noticed.

People of the village and their chief feel annoyed at this outrage of kidnapping their girl.

The boy and the girl live somewhere together for a few days. Later, the girl returns alone to her parents.

The villagers hold a conference of the elders with the Chief as president and impose "kulam tappa" (penalty) on the girl's father for permitting his daughter to return to his house. The father pleads his inability to pay such a heavy penalty.

After much wrangling, the penalty is reduced to suit his paying capacity. The girl's father has to give them meat and liquor.

Now it is the boy's turn. He along with his father, kinsmen and tribal Chief goes to the Chief of the girl's village and requests him to settle the alliance. Then begins a long discussion. Finally, the Chiefs agree to a mutually acceptable bride price.

The youth pays bride price to the girl's father to seal the agreement.

c) Love Marriage :

When a boy and girl have fallen in love, they try to obtain the consent of their parents by indirect hints or by sounding their kins. The parents may not easily approve. The parents are worried about settling bride money, and there are so many preliminaries and formalities to be gone through. But this procrastination is intolerable. The young people are eager to get married. So, without telling their parents, they elope to some other place.

The absence of the girl and the boy soon becomes common talk, and people who have seen them together subsequent to their disappearance testify that it is a case of elopement.

The young people however return to their respective homes within a week.

The bride's father has to pay 'kulam tappu' (penalty for transgression) of his daughter, and serve liquor to the village elders and Chief. He demands heavy bride price. Now his position is more assured. The boy ought not to have taken away his daughter if he cannot afford to pay the bride price. The boy's parents are at a disadvantage in the bargain. They however try their best for a reduction through repeated negotiations with the help of their Chief and kinsmen. At last the figure is finalised. They have a feast and drinks at the expense of the boy's parents.

The youth pays the bride price to seal the agreement.

d) Post-Marital sex :

After being married, a girl may fall in love with another person, and may indulge in post-marital sex secretly.

The kinsmen do not approve of such behaviour. But they will not be harsh. They are tolerant in the beginning. Gentle hints, and subtle references are made to dissuade the woman. In their early reproaches they do not betray their knowledge of her infidelity.

It is however doubtful whether these subtle methods of correction really prevail upon her.

e) Remarriage :

A married woman who developed post-marital sexual relations with an unmarried youth may elope with him. After this becomes known, the youth who took her as his wife has to pay

“kulam tappu” to the Chieftain of the woman’s village, He will be exonerated. The money he pays is used for meat and liquor of the Chief and the elders.

The man and the woman live together as husband and wife.

No marriage rites are performed for such a couple.

f) Second Marriage of a Woman Having Children :

It is not uncommon for a woman having children to elope, leaving her children and husband. The children grow up in the father’s house. Since he has no wife, the first husband may remarry. He brings his new wife into the house. The children are neglected. Under these circumstances the original mother who may be living in the same village or in another village, comes to her former husband’s house to enquire after the welfare of her children and to give them food, clothes and money occasionally.

When woman marries for a second or third time, there is no need for the husband to pay bride-money or to go through the ritual of marriage.

8. Marriage Rites :

“Chettoji Muhurta Gadu” officiates as priest. He fixes the date of the wedding. Nowadays, some of the Gadabas are consulting Brahman priests of the plains for fixing the marriage date according to the Hindu almanac for the auspicious time for such celebration. And the “Chettoji” does not lag behind. He too learns a few lines of Sanskrit, and repeats them like the Brahman priest. He imitates the Hindu ritual.

But the traditional mode of marriage rites still persists.

On the marriage day the bride-groom and his kinsmen arrive well before the appointed time. But they remain at the outskirts.

They should not enter the village. According to their custom, the bride's party should - welcome them, and escort them to their village.

The people of the bride's village gather at the boundary. They shout to the new relations, by way of friendly banter, that they will not permit them to cross the boundary and come in.

Meantime, the bride, led by her parents and kinsmen has to go to the groom. She has to bring him with his train to her house. Then both of them take bath in turmeric sprinkled water. They wear new clothes. They are taken to the pandal covered with palmyrah or cocoanut leaves. They sit on the Naagali pooja (yoke of the plough).

By the side of the bride are two small girls who are called " Toka Pellikuturlu " (Bride's maids). Two boys accompany the bride-groom. They are known as " Chinna Pelli Kodukulu " (best men of the bride groom). These bride's maids and best men of the bride groom do the biddings of the " Chettoji " (priest) in performing the marriage rites. The " Chettoji " murmurs incantations. Probably he just makes lip movements as if he is repeating vedic slokas. At its conclusion, some kinsmen and friends give presents of cash or clothes. At the wedding the bride-groom ties the thread bearing golpdollar (Mangala Sutram) round the bride's neck. This custom is being followed for the last several decades. It seems to have been borrowed from the Hindus. After marriage, the gold may be removed from the thread. Among Hindus, however, the removal of the golden bit is possible only when the husband dies.

After the wedding, dinner is served to the guests including those of the bride's village. Feast is separately arranged for non-tribals in the morning itself.

The bride-groom and a few of his close relatives remain in the village for three days.

The third day is eventful. Firstly, after bath the couple play the game of the rings. Then both of them, followed by kinsmen, go ritually towards the forest.

The Bride-groom brings with him a spade and a crowbar to dig "Aarika Tegulu" (edible roots). He is followed by the bride, and kinsmen of either side. The bride carries a bamboo basket along with a "semmu" (roll of cloth) on her head to carry it home with the "semmu" under the basket. She is expected to collect ritually in this basket, the roots dug by her husband. She carries with her a lighted 'Bendu' (twisted hay) also. According to custom, the newly weds should light their cigars with the help of the fire of the 'Bendu', and smoke together happily. They should smoke the cigar fully.

After lunch on the third day, the couple and their parents go to the bride-groom's house. While the other relatives disperse, the girl's mother has to remain with her daughter until the 9th day.

On the 9th day the bride's mother brings the couple back to her village. Chettoji fixes the date for the consummation on any day after the 9th and before the 30th day after marriage. The nuptials are celebrated in the bride-groom's house.

These marriage rites are the traditional custom of the Gadabas. Chettoji is the traditional priest. These have not changed with the passage of time. However, in recent times, to show their superiority over the "backward" tribals the Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa, have begun to resort to the Brahman priest; to insist on tying a gold Mangala Sutra; to arrange the playing of records on electronic equipment at the time of the wedding. A small number of them have picked up the dowry evil from the Hindus: The few, who on account of a little education are fortunate enough to secure petty Government jobs, are collecting dowry from the

bride instead of themselves paying the bride price customary to Gadabas.

9. Divorce :

The system of divorce is not known to the Gadabas. When a man or woman is dissatisfied for any reason with the spouse, they follow the simple expedient of separating from the spouse.

The man or woman picks up another life partner. They have to pay Kulam Tappu (penalty) of about Rs. 25/- to the chief; with this amount the chief and elders buy liquor and they all drink toddy together. The erring person is forgiven. There is no further social stigma.

A married woman having children may develop sexual intimacy with a married man. She goes directly to the man's house, and may live with him along with his first wife. This will naturally irk the latter. The first wife becomes sulky. Quarrels break but frequently between both of them. The husband, in exasperation, beats them both. Unable to bear this torture, one of them separates from the husband. If she has children, she may take the children with her, and live in another house separately. In such cases, penalty has to be paid to the chief by both the man and the woman so as to be eligible for his protection.

According to Moyyi Somulu, there has been a recent incident of this nature. Hanumanthu Simhadri is a married man with five children. His wife used to live with him. But she developed sexual intimacy with his younger brother, Simhadri tried to dissuade her from this. But she defied him. Disgusted, he deserted his wife, and went to live with the younger sister of his wife who is residing in the next street. He married the latter afterwards. So they are now living peacefully together. His five children are with their

father and stepmother. As often happens, the step-mother does not show much affection towards these children. One of these children, a son, was recently married. After marriage he and his wife have taken residence at the house of his mother who has married her husband's brother. The step-father treats his brother's son and his wife with affection.

This incident exemplifies the liberal outlook of the Gadabas in matters concerning sexual freedom.

There is another case. Pulleru Subbayya deserted his wife Bodemma. He went to live with Bangaramma, a widow who has some children. Bodemma filed a complaint in the court at Bobbili demanding payment of maintenance on the ground that her husband deserted her.

According to Gadaba custom Bodemma, after her husband deserted her, should live alone or take a lover. There is no other alternative. Bodemma is the first person to invoke the authority of law and seek maintenance from her husband. Her conduct is not liked by fellow Gadabas.

10. Exogamous Marriages :

The Gadaba custom is to inter-marry within the community only. No one should marry outside the tribe. In spite of this strict taboo, some of the Gadaba youths married Gurum Gadada girls belonging to Karaka valasa.

Although both varieties of Gadabas live together in the same village, tribal custom prohibits inter-dining and inter-marriage between them. These marriages are contrary to Gadaba custom. However, after they paid the Kulam Tappu, they were admitted and have been living happily at Raja Cheruvu Valasa for many years. Seeing this precedent, a few young men ventured to marry Gurum Gadaba girls.

For instance, the daughter of Gangamma who is Gadipalli Narayana Rao's sister married a boy of Gurum Gadaba family of Karakavalasa near Salur. Similarly Gangamma's sister Parvatamma gave her daughter in marriage to another youth of the same village.

The earliest exogamous marriage was a secret affair in the beginning. Once this was accepted, the Karakavalasa people become kinsmen. Thereafter, one by one, new alliances came to be formed exogamously.

In this context, the influence of contact with the people of the plains some of whom have taken Kattira Gadaba girls as concubines, cannot be ignored. These men are powerful and rich. They have much influence. It is not easy to oppose them. Generally the plains people are clever and powerful. So the Gadabas had to acquiesce.

Their inability to prevent these developments emboldened some of the rash youth to contract exogamous marriages, in a few cases, with the Gurum Gadabas of Karaka Valasa. These, however, are the exception rather than the rule. The Gadabas still choose their spouse from among the Kattira Gadaba families only.

II. Polygamy :

When a person lives with more than one wife, it is known as polygamy. The Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa are generally monogamous. But there is no taboo against polygamy. A man may marry more than one wife. He may bring the second wife into his house. But why should he do so ? If he does not

like his first wife, he can easily drive her away and pay kulam tappu which dissolves the first marriage. He can bring in the second woman and pay Kulam Tappu.

It may so happen that the second girl comes to him forsaking her own husband, and wants a temporary shelter. She may remain in his house for some time. But the first wife would not tolerate her rival. She makes life too hot for the new-comer. The husband has both his ears full with the women's continuous wrangling and ceaseless complaints against one another; his hands are full, thrashing one now and then another until one of the women is so vexed as to leave his house. and go elsewhere. She may choose a new lover. Or she may simply set up a lonely new home. The end—result is clear. The polygamous marriage sooner or later ends as a monogamous one.

The Gadabas practical wisdom has found a simple solution to the problem by simply allowing untrammelled freedom to the individual. No wonder there is no taboo against polygamy; there are no polygamous families, either, among them.

12. Death :

When anyone dies in the Gadaba Community, the matter is immediately brought to the notice of the chief. Messengers are despatched, by the chief, to kinsmen in neighbouring villages. The women mourn the death. The daughters and other near relatives lament the death with wails and tears. The corpse is accompanied by the kinsmen and the chief. They dig a pit and bury the corpse.

Some of the advanced Gadabas holding government jobs, and hence being prosperous, emulate the Hindu custom of cremating the corpse. This involves considerable expenditure towards purchase of firewood, etc., for making the funeral pyre. This practice is therefore rare among the Gadabas,

All the persons who carry the bier, and family members of the deceased, take bath after burying the corpse.

The Karyam (last obsequies) is performed on 3rd or 9th or 11th day after the occurrence of the death. Usually this ceremony is performed on the third day itself. But if kinsmen living far away are expected, the Karyam is performed on the 9th or 11th day.

The Karyam is performed at the burial site. The area is cleaned first, and plastered with a coating of dung. An oil lamp is lit at the spot. Some of the dust from the place of actual burial is collected and shaped into the figure of a man.

The son, or other close relative, of the deceased person, fasts that morning. He cooks rice in a pot, and makes an offering of it to the departed man. All the bier-bearers have to attend the Karyam. All these members take part in the feast arranged for kinsmen that afternoon, with the meat of pig or cock. The main persons like the chief and the bier-bearers are served special meal and liquor.

Until these final obsequies are performed, the members of the bereaved family are prohibited from going beyond the village to any other place.

No further ceremonies are observed. Whenever new clothes are purchased, they are first offered to their ancestors before actually wearing them. Probably this is due to contact with the Hindus.

The Gadabas have a primitive fear of death. They believe that the dead person hovers in the air, unseen, at nights for the first nine days after death until the final obsequies are performed. They believe that the devil tries to enter the houses at night,

Therefore, during the first nine days, the villagers bolt their doors firmly at night, and do not open them until dawn. However, after the lapse of a few days, the fear wears away, and the deceased is forgotten.

They do not seem to have beliefs in the soul, heaven, hell, re-birth, last judgement, etc. Death of a person brings the curtain down on one's life for ever.

They do not fix permanently stones at the burial place, nor do they visit the place to worship the ancestor. These two practices, mentioned in Gazetteer of Vizagapatnam District (1869) are not customary practices of Kattira Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa.

13. Self—Government :

Theirs is a self-governing society. The society Is supreme in all matters. Every event in the life of the individual like birth, marriage, separation or death; harassment by the kins of the village or outside; embarrassments caused by the forest guards, excise or police personnel, revenue and other government departments, courts etc.. is to be reported to it. The community, through the chief, gives him protection and assistance.

The Gadaba community governs its society through the Yajamani (chief) the executive head assisted by the Peddalu (the elders) who act as his council of advisers. It enforces sanctions of kulam Tappu (penalty) against the transgressors of tribal customs and authority and veli (banishment from society or caste).

a) The Chief :

The chief of the Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa is known as the Yajamani.

When the chief has died, all the people form into a general assembly to elect his successor. The late chief's son may be

chosen if he is suitable. Anyone may suggest chief-candidate. The suggestion would be carefully debated. Generally, people are reluctant to take up the onerous responsibilities of the chief. So, several persons decline the offer. After much discussion, a consensus is arrived at and a unanimous decision is taken. The person elected as chief will assume office immediately.

But the authority of the chief is being eroded by the entry of political parties into the village. Moyyi Somulu, the chief, was defied by the village elders who have a large following who belong to the congress party. Somulu, being a protagonist of Telugu Desam Party whose influence has waned in this area, was given scant respect. His decisions were not implemented. Every one of his acts was criticised and condemned by a majority of the people. In disgust, Somulu expressed his desire to step down. This was taken literally. At the general assembly, Somulu laid down his office after functioning as the Chief for several years. All this happened a few months ago.

Now, the Yajamani is Gedela Bangarayya, the son of a former chief. He is ignorant. He cannot speak a word. But he was elected by the general assembly as chief because Congress leaders of Bobbili town gave them enormous quantity of liquor. The chief, now, is a puppet in the hands of petty leaders of the Congress Party in this village.

Thus, the politics of the plains people have influenced the election of the Chief in recent months. But this does not affect the fact that the status of the tribal head, namely, the Yajamani, is as high as ever, even now, provided that he commands the confidence of the people. In truth, Somulu became unpopular first. He was therefore made to step down.

The duties of the chief in the tribal set-up are manifold.

- 1) Every individual's personal requests should be attended to without delay.
- 2) When any officer or leader or stranger comes to the village, he has to receive him properly, extend hospitality, and be with him until he goes away.
- 3) If anyone comes from another village, the chief should enquire the reason for the visit and do the needful.
- 4) If tribesmen of another village come to this village, they should first meet the chief and explain to him their errand.
- 5) An individual who proposes to get married must inform the chief first, naming the person whom he intends to marry, where he is residing, and related details.
- 6) If a girl of another village comes to this village to live as the wife of one of the Gadabas, the chief of the girl's village has to inform the local chief that their girl is left in this village under his care, and that he would be held responsible if any harm comes to her. The chief has to take care of her.
- 7) If a girl goes to live with a man of another village, the girl's father has to intimate this fact to the chief. After hearing this, the chief imposes Kulam Tappu. The girl's father should pay it in the prescribed time.
- 8) Similarly, if a youth has brought a girl from another village to live with him in this village, he should intimate this fact to the chief. After hearing his detailed report, the Chief imposes Kulam Tappu. The young man should pay the penalty within the prescribed time.

- 9) All family disputes are referred to the chief for his judgement. The decision of the chief should be implemented.
- 10) Ill-treatment, cruelty and infidelity of spouse has to be brought to the chief's notice. The chief will reprimand the culprit or impose suitable penalty. The decision of the Chief must be implemented within the prescribed time.
- 11) When a person of another village wishes to have formal engagement for marriage with a local girl, he should send a messenger in advance on an earlier day with cash to buy liquor for the chief and the elders of this village to intimate this fact and to invite all concerned persons to attend the engagement function. The chief sends such messages. He has the responsibility of assembling all the concerned persons on that day so that the engagement can formally take place.
- 12) Whenever a man brings a new wife, the matter should be notified to the chief. The chief fixes the Kulam Tappu. Both the bride and the bride-groom should pay this penalty. The money is used to buy liquor for the chiefs and elders of both villages involved.
- 13) The chief should be an intelligent man. He should raise sufficient funds as Kulam Tappu to meet expenses of the chief for meeting officials, and to extend hospitality to strangers who come to their village.

b) Peddalu :

The Peddalu (elders) are the counsellors of the chief in all matters. They are not elected; nor are they nominated. They are the natural leaders by their wisdom and experience. The people, who are generally innocent, trust their sagacity in all

matters concerning the community. The elders are powerful persons with their own followers who stand by them through thick and thin. They have the gift of speech. They can persuade and convince and create public opinion. Such natural leaders are understandably few in number in any village. They are fewer in the unsophisticated tribal village.

This small number of Peddalu take counsel together and advise the chief on any issue. Usually, the chief acts according to their advice.

Sometimes the chief, out of sheer arrogance, may take a perverse decision. In such cases, the elders open their minds to him in clear terms. They tell him that he is wrong. He should revise his decision.

When the situation comes to this pass, the chief's decision is opposed, by the elders : the chief has to retract, and accept their wise counsel.

If the chief is unbending and wants to enforce his diktat all alone, the elders withdraw their support to him. They also tell the people to defy the chief's decision. The people obey the elders more than the chiefs : the chief is brought to his knees. He is humbled for his hastiness.

Once the chief accepts the verdict of the Peddalu, he once again regains his usual prestige and authority. The elders forgive him. They endorse his actions.

Thus, the public opinion is controlled on the one hand and the absolutism of the chief is restrained on the other by the Peddalu of the village. They play the key role in the self-government of the Gadaba society.

c) Sanctions :

The governing council of Peddalu and the chief wield two powerful sanctions in their hands for the execution of their authority, namely, (i) Kulam Tappu (penalty for transgression) and (ii) Veli (banishment from society or caste). The common people have to obey the chief. Otherwise the sanctions would be severe.

i) Kulam Tappu :

The chief and the council of elders impose for all offences Kulam Tappu to make a person realise that what he has done is something repugnant to Gadaba conscience. But the society is benevolent. It is prepared to forgive him if he shows his loyalty by paying the penalty. Once this happens, the man is treated with respect and is allowed to lead life as if he never committed the offence. Kulam Tappu clears him of all guilt.

The Gadaba society, by this means, forgives and forgets. Kulam Tappu, achieves two objectives : firstly, it takes cognizance of even minor offences and secondly, it gains the adherence of Gadabas to the authority of the chief. It ranges between Rs. 500/- and Rs. 25/-.

Kulam Tappu is imposed under the following circumstances :—

- a) A person who kidnaps a girl without the parent's consent is liable to pay penalty.
- b) A person who goes away to another village to live with a girl of that village has to pay penalty.
- c) If a girl who eloped with a man returns to her parents, the parent has to pay penalty.

d) If a person is proved to be too harsh to his wife, he should pay the penalty.

e) If a woman leaves her husband and lives separately either as the spouse of a man or independently, she has to pay penalty.

f) If a man begins to live with a woman belonging to the same or another village, he has to pay penalty.

g) If a man neglects his flock and allows his cattle or sheep to stray into another man's farm and causes damage to the crop, he has to pay a fine to the chief; the chief collects this money, and pays the amount to the complainant.

h) If a man defaults payment of a loan, the chief admonishes the culprit and puts pressure on him to clear the loan within a time-frame. No penalty will be imposed in such cases.

ii) **Veli :**

Veli is the most powerful instrument in the hands of the chief and is used sparingly on account of its severe consequences. Veli is banishment from the society or caste.

The banished person need not leave the village. He may continue to occupy the same old residence of his.

A banished person after going through formalities can be readmitted if he surrenders to the chief. The chief then assembles the Peddalu. The matter is thoroughly discussed. If they are convinced that the culprit can be forgiven, he should pay immediately Rs. 10 or 15 with which liquor is procured for the assembled chief and elders to drink. They do not rise from their sitting until the cash is paid. Only after the culprit pays this amount, and liquor is shared, the compromise comes into force. From then on, he is readmitted to society. The banishment has been lifted.

Veli is resorted to whenever a person defies the authority of the chief and evades payment of penalty for transgression.

A person, so punished, is subject to the following sanctions :

- a) He is not allowed to use the well.
- b) Nobody should speak to him.
- c) Nobody should visit him, nor allow him to pay visits.
- d) Nobody should give him food nor accept food from him.
- e) He should not be invited to attend birth, marriage, death, etc., ceremonies.
- f) Nobody should give him fire to light his cigar nor accept fire from him to light their cigars.

IV. SOCIAL & ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The original home of the Gadabas of Rajacheruvu Valasa was in the steep merrains where, many generations ago, the Gadabas used to live like all hill tribes, in isolation from the neighbouring plains. They lived by podu (shifting) cultivation and by hunting game in the forest. They had abundant food. Their needs were simple. For some of the things which were not available locally, they used to depend upon the weekly fairs. The Gadabas, were genial and gentle people. Their speech was gentle and manners sweet. They were fond of liquor, which they could brew at home and spent the evening in singing and dancing. They had everything they wanted and lived carefree, simple, cheerful lives, as innocent children of nature.

From this stock have come the Gadabas of Rajacheruvu Valasa. They were brought to this place by the Rajah of Bobbili a few centuries ago to serve as his palanquinbearers. In return for their service, the Rajah allowed them to cultivate Zamindari land and utilise its usufruct. In this way, these Gadabas took up the twin vocations of bearing the palanquin of the Rajah and his subordinates whenever called for, and, being cultivators of Zamindari land.

The land belonged to the Zamindar. The Gadabas had no title to it. They could raise crops on it, and enjoy it for their sustenance during the pleasure of the Rajah. The Rajah's successors respected this arrangement. The Gadabas were at home in the new surroundings because the hamlet they built was at the foot of Chimpi Konda, a mountain, surrounded by a thick forest inhabited by tigers, leopards, wild bucks, stags, deer and other wild life providing ample opportunity to hunt to their heart's

content. The Gadaba women used to graze their cattle in the forest, and gather firewood for their hearth.

Thus after settling down in Bobbili area, the Gadabas lived prosperously. They had the added advantage of coming close to the people of the plains who are very civilised and profess the Hindu religion.

This happy situation came to an end after Independence. The Government abolished the Zamindari system. The Government acquired Zamindari lands, and redistributed them. This progressive land reform, unfortunately, hit hard the Gadabas. Firstly, they became landless. So, they could not farm land anymore. Their source of income, thus, vanished, rather suddenly. Secondly, the Rajah no more required their services as palanquin-bearers. The Gadabas who were skillful palanquin-bearers knew nothing else. They became unemployed persons. They could not turn to any other occupation because they had no other skill. Thirdly, the forest which hitherto provided cattle feed and firewood free of charge, now came under the Forest Department which converted it into a Reserved Forest.

Thus, by the 1950's, the Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa were deprived of all avenues of employment, and sources of livelihood.

In desperation they turned to the forest once again, in the hope that it may, as of old, come to their succour and sustenance. But the wild animals were driven to denser forests by the merciless hunters. The Mohua & Vippa trees whose flowers furnished abundant liquor, were replaced, in the Reserved forest, by other plantations. The hill slopes could not be brought under podu cultivation as before. There was only one occupation left. That was collecting firewood and selling it to the towns people.

The Gadabas, thus, became fuel gatherers. They had no other skill.

Contact with the people of the plains has brought many changes in their lives. Firstly, they became bilingual, speaking Telugu as well as the people of the plains. Among themselves they speak in the Gadaba tongue; in dealing with the Telugu people, they speak Telugu fluently. Secondly, they adopted the dress and ornaments of the non-tribals. Thirdly, they use modern cosmetics to some extent. Fourthly, the Hindu almanac, priest, and mythology, their gods and festivals, their cinema and other entertainments including recorded music, and other artifacts of modern civilization have had some impact, although, faint, upon these tribals. Fifthly, their life is influenced by the impact of political parties, co-operative societies, local bodies, banks, government departments, police and courts.

The tribals, by nature, are insular in outlook. They like to mix little with outsiders. Their social system also discourages such mixing. Whenever a stranger comes to their village, the Gadaba custom is to take him to the chief. After handing over the stranger, the Gadaba man or woman has to quit the scene. Only the chief is competent to have dealings with strangers. This is the Gadaba tradition.

But this Gadaba tradition has eroded to some extent by the rise of a new educated class enjoying government jobs and assured salary and some persons, among them wielding political influence as members of political parties, cooperative societies, village panchayat, etc.

Nowadays, a stranger deals directly, in non-tribal matters, without the mediation of the chief. And, unlike other tribals who live in the interior, the Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa tend to tend warm welcome to strangers and try to foster friendliness.

The above analysis of the changed environment gives an inkling of their structural maladjustment with the economy of the plains, and explains their penurious condition. This becomes more manifest when a detailed study is made of their social and economic conditions as revealed by the socio-economic benchmark survey of the year, 1991.

I) The Village :

The hamlet is confined to about 5 acres of land. There are four rows of thatched houses. The number of houses is 61. Only 48 houses are occupied.

The houses are built of mud walls and thatched roofing. Every house has one living room. There is a front verandah, used at nights to sleep in. The back-verandah is used for kitchen-cum-dining purposes. Every house has a small back-yard in which a few vegetables may be grown.

The Gadabas have clean habits. They tidy the surroundings twice a day. The walls are plastered with cattle dung. Lime white wash is conspicuous by its absence.

The houses face the North. Every house has a northern and a southern door. Houses have no windows.

The street is kept clean generally. Litter is removed to the compost heaps. Every family sweeps the portion of the road abutting their house and keeps the street clean and tidy.

2) Electricity :

Electricity has been extended to the village but street lighting is inadequate. Only two streets are provided electric lights at the western end. The village is almost dark as the street lights are located at one end of the village only. "One light for every

house" scheme of the Government has not been implemented. At present, no house is electrified.

3) Population :

The village is inhabited by the Gadabas exclusively. No non-tribal resides in the village. There are 98 males and 98 females, in the village. The total population is 196.

There are 48 households : 9 of them have females as heads of households. 39 households have males as heads.

Since child labour is engaged from an early age to tend cattle and sheep, and to collect firewood, the people above 10 years of age and upto 60 years may be considered earners, and the rest as dependants. When so classified, the earners are 144 or 73.5 per cent of the total population; children 47 or 24 per cent; and the old people, 5 or 2.5 per cent.

Disease and malnutrition are the chief causes of death. Infantile mortality is frequent.

Of the five old persons, two are octogenarians. Both of them get Rs. 150/- per mensem as old age pension. Both of them, in spite of their economic freedom, still complain of neglect.

The children of the age of 10 and less are equally neglected though they do not complain.

4) Marital Status :

Of the 196 people, 105 persons including 50 males and 55 females are stated to have been married. They constitute 53.6 per cent of the population. The unmarried people are 91 in number, including 56 males and 35 females, and constitute 46.4 per cent of the population.

Although reported as married, 9 of them separated from their husbands and set up their own households with or without children. Several women reported as married did not go through marriage ritual, but live as spouse without being married.

Young men who wish to marry young girls are deterred by the fact that unmarried women are expensive : high bride price is demanded by their parents. So young men try to win over an already married woman, and live with her by simply paying kulam tappu which is about Rs. 25 for the man and another Rs. 25 to be paid by the woman. They need not go through the marriage ritual which again is very expensive.

Unmarried young women are generally on the lookout for eligible young men. When a boy falls in love, he persuades the girl to elope with him rather than incur the huge marriage expenses. Once their elopement becomes common knowledge, the boy's parents would be forced to loosen purse strings and pay bride price while the girl's parents lower to the minimum possible level, now that their pride has been compromised, by their daughter's recklessness.

One noteworthy feature is the popularity of family planning. 22 cases of surgery were effected for family planning. 19 males and 3 females underwent the operation out of 105 married persons. Family planning by the surgical method, thus, is prevalent among 21 per cent of the married population.

5) Education :

At the entrance to the village there is an impressive school-building. It has two teachers on its pay-roll. But the

survey showed that only 21 students of whom 12 are females are getting primary education although school-age children are 55. Actual attendance any day is not more than 5.

Of the total population of 196, 55 persons (37 males and 18 females) are literates. The literates form 28 per cent.

There are 8 students staying in Tribal Welfare Hostel, and studying in High Schools in the area. Out of them 6 are males, and 2 females. One of them is a boy student. He is studying 10th class this year. The parents spend roughly Rs. 150/- per year on these children although the Government provides them all facilities.

There are 8 persons who have completed the 10th class : one of them, a female aged 18 years, failed in the Public Examination and is now engaged as an assistant in her father's tea shop. Of the rest, two failed; and five passed 10th class : only one has been able to secure employment as Field Officer of the Peerless Insurance Company. Two of them studied in the I. T. I. ; they are jobless.

Among the adults 15 males and 2 females are literates.

Four boys of the age of 20 and below have gone through I.T.I. Training Course, and are eligible for employment in any engineering concern. They have been unemployed for the last two years.

As to other technical education, one boy aged 18 has learnt car driving. He has no licence however.

6) Employment :

Excluding children and the super-annuated persons, the labour force consists of 144 persons or 73.5% of the total population.

a) Agriculture :

The Government assigned banjar land of 1 acres to each of eight persons. The lands are full of stones and shrub. They have no irrigation facilities. Moreover, they are distant from the village. Practically little use is being made of these lands.

The owners of these lands depend on gathering firewood in the forest as their main occupation just like those who do not own any.

As the Gadabas have little land of their own, agriculture as an occupation has almost disappeared from the village.

The landlords, belonging to the plains, do not employ the Gadabas as their Paleru (farm servant) for this reason.

Some of them take part in agricultural operations during the busy season as agricultural labour. 11 men and 4 women, that is, total 15 persons undertake this work at their secondary occupation. It provides employment for about one month in the year.

Last month, one of the boys, has been lucky enough to be engaged by a landlord as a farm servant. This is a surprise to the Gadabas. Similarly, one elderly Gadaba works as watchman of a mango tree for three months in a year. This he has been doing for the last three years only.

b) Forest Produce:

The Gadaba's main occupation is gathering forest produce and exchanging it in the town market. The chief item so gathered is firewood.

They have to walk at least 15 Km. per day. They start for work at dawn. They return home late in the morning and take a hurried breakfast. They then dispose it of in the town.

They return by early evening. They take lunch, and take rest for the day.

They collect from the forest such forest products as honey, wild fruits, leaves of some trees, brooms, tamarind, etc., whenever available. As this is a reserved forest they do not collect bamboo and timber from the forest.

c) Other Occupations :

One or two families have sheep or cattle and these are driven to the forest for grazing during the day by children of the family. But this is not a regular occupation even for them.

7 persons are working as employees of Government or semi-government authorities. They are whole-time employees. So they do not join the others in collecting forest products. But other members of their families do.

One of the tribals has started a tea stall recently. His daughter assists him. He cannot serve refreshments because he does not have the required skill. He therefore sells ready food packets and biscuits to customers.

Opportunities of hunting game have diminished. Firstly, government is taking care to preserve wild life. Secondly, they do not have a gun to shoot game. They however have nets to trap the hare, the wild cat or the squirrel. But hunting, as an occupation, has disappeared.

7. Government Assistance :

In recent times the Integrated Tribal Development Authority, Parvatipuram and the Mandal Development Officer, Bobbili have come forward to give some assistance.

The Government has allocated nearly 2 acres of Banjar land each to 8 persons; bank loans were sanctioned to 13 persons

to purchase sheep; 8 persons to purchase bullocks; and, 8 persons to purchase milch she-buffaloes :

While the land assigned to them is infertile and without irrigation facilities, the loans were given in kind by officials who did not take care to select healthy animals. Many of these animals had died. Only a pair of bullocks, and a flock of 10 sheep still remain out of the whole lot.

The Government has, in the pipeline, the scheme of providing electric lighting facility to the villagers under a light for each house scheme, but so far steps have not been taken for its implementation.

The Mandal Development Officer, Bobbili has recently arranged for the excavation of a drinking water well under the Jivan Dhara Scheme. It has yet to be completed.

A housing colony is promised to those people. In the last three years little was done except to build basement of eight houses. When even these few would be completed is anybody's guess.

8. Income :

The income of the Gadabas from the sale of firewood varies from day to day depending upon the price struck for a headload. The average income is Rs. 10/- for a headload. The Gadabas do not bring these headloads every day. Most of them are anaemic and sickly. Some of them suffer from fever very often. So, it may be assumed that their working days are only 200 a year and that their income per annum is Rs. 2,000/- from their main occupation.

Usually they have secondary occupations such as the sale of other forest products like brooms, leaves, roots, fruits etc. But these do not bring in more than Rs. 200/- a year.

Agricultural labour is paid Rs. 10/- per day as daily wages during the busy season of about a month in the aggregate. The annual income from this source to the 15 persons engaging in this secondary occupation comes to Rs. 300/- a year. The other persons do not get this additional income.

Poultry keeping, sheep rearing, dairying and agriculture have not taken roots in the tribal economy. The amount invested in them have been practically frittered away: and the tribal families earn little from these sources.

Since the village has 48 households with 196 people, the size of household on average is 4 members. The work force being 134, the average number of earners per household is 2.8. Their average earnings at Rs. 2,200/- per annum can be estimated as Rs. 6,160/-. The agricultural labour families which do not collect other forest produce, get an extra Rs. 300/- (total Rs. 6,360): if they get income from the latter also, another Rs. 200/- will be added to their income from the main occupation (Rs. 6,660). The corresponding daily income of the household (4 members) may be estimated as Rs. 16 = 90; Rs. 17 = 40: and Rs. 18 = 10 respectively. Figures of income per capita are therefore Rs. 4 = 23; Rs. 4 = 33; and Rs. 4 = 53 respectively per day.

9. Family Expenditure :

Oral enquiry, by means of a questionnaire and benchmark survey of family expenditure have their limitations. The subjects tend to exaggerate. Prices fluctuate. There are no accounts to depend upon. Figures of expenditure are, by their very nature, based on fancy and guess-work. The personality of the investigator also tends to cast its shadow on the data introducing, to some extent, the personal element.

In the course of the present enquiry the same difficulty manifested itself. For instance, some informants, although both families were of the same size, gave the figure of foodgrains consumption as 20 Kg. per month while others said it was 30 Kg., 40 Kg., 50 Kg., or 60 Kg., as they pleased. Similarly while a majority averred that they spent Rs. 40/- per month on vegetables, others said it was Rs. 60/-, Rs. 80/- or Rs. 100/- or Rs. 180/-. As to expenditure on non-vegetarian items, the figures varied from Rs. 20/- p.m. to Rs. 100/-. The expenditure on clothing per year was stated as Rs. 200/- by some, but the others gave different figures, putting them at Rs. 300/- or Rs. 500/- or Rs. 800/- or Rs. 1,500/- or Rs. 2,000/-. The unreliability of their statements becomes glaring when figures of consumption of soaps are taken into account : while a majority stated that they consumed 1 toilet soap and 1 detergent soap per month, some people stated that 4 toilet soaps and 4 detergent soaps were consumed by them. When they were asked about their consumption of milk, varying answers were given. But in the village nobody sells milk. How then could they buy milk in their village?

The above wide variations in figures based on guess-work and fancy of informants betray how unreliable they are in estimating average family expenditure. In this context it is necessary to bear in mind that even family budgets collected every day for the duration of one year from selected households, are liable to bias unless the investigator maintains double check on daily accounts of informants, price trends, etc.

Therefore, for our purpose, physical consumption pattern is relied upon. Average family expenditure is estimated by taking modal average of physical quantities consumed and their market value.

The survey revealed that the content and pattern of food consumption were the same for all households in the village. Their breakfast consists of 150 grams of rice, soaked in water in which a little salt is mixed for taste. The breakfast includes an onion or two chillies. At noon they take 250 grams of ragi gruel with an onion or 2 chillies. Dinner consists of 250 gr. of rice, vegetable curry and thin tamarind soup to mix with rice.

The per capita expenditure on different items of consumption per day is found to be as follows :

a) Food :	Rs. Ps.
Breakfast : Rice 150 grams @ Rs. 2 per Kg.	0—30
A little salt, 1 onion or 2 chillies	0—15
Lunch : Ragi 100 grams @ Rs. 4 per Kg.	0—40
A little salt; 1 onion or 2 chillies	0—15
Dinner : Rice 250 grams @ Rs. 2 per kg.	0—50
Vegetable curry 60 grams @ Rs. 6 per kg.	0—60
Tamarind soup	0—20
Miscellaneous food items & Kerosene	0—40
Non-vegetarian item : Rs. 40 p.m. for 4 members	0—36
b) Tea in restaurant : 2 times 30 ps.	0—60
c) Smoking of cigars : 2 cigars 25 ps.	0—50
d) Washing & toilet soap : @ Rs. 12 p.m. for 4 members	0—10
	<hr/>
	Total : 4—26
e) Clothing for the year : @ Rs. 350 for 4 persons :	0—24
	<hr/>
	Grand Total : 4—50
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Daily consumption expenditure, per capita excluding clothing, is Rs. 4-26 whereas the family income is only Rs. 4-23. Obviously, the Gadabas find it difficult to make both ends meet.

In this precarious situation how can they can find money to pay for clothing and medical treatment ? They have, of course, no money to spend on books or education or toys for little children.

They use, for the sake of economy, cooking oil as hair oil.

Both men and women like liquor and cinema. How can they spend money upon these merry items without foregoing their minimum needs !

The abject poverty of the Gadabas is part of their way of life.

10. Furniture and Equipment :

The Gadaba households are ill furnished and ill-equipped : they have no tables, chairs or benches. There are 56 cheap cots in all.

One household has a wall clock. The Attender in the Government Department of Agriculture and the Helper in the Municipal Water Works possess radio sets. The Homeguard has a tape-recorder. All these three persons have wrist watches.

There are, for the whole village, only three bicycles.

Women are crazy to own ornaments. But no one has gold ornaments, not even Mangala Sutra. Silver chains, rings, and silver ornaments for the feet are worn by only four women. Many women use cheap rolled gold or plastic finger rings. Cheap chains of glass beads adorn the necks of almost all women. They do not use cosmetics. Educated girls of two families use face powder on special occasions.

Their kitchen-ware is mainly pottery. Alluminium glasses and plates, and a few vessels are found in almost all households.

There are two brass pitchers and four steel pitchers in the whole village. Steel plates are used by five households.

II. Health :

The diet of the Gadabas is devoid of nutrients. All the members, except the families of the few who enjoy salaried employment, are enaemic. Many of them are afflicted with fever and general sickness. The village doctor gives medical treatment. He does not charge much fees. He prescribes medicines. They should buy the medicines in the medical shops of Bobbili. The medicines are also cheap.

In serious illness, they are obliged to visit private or Government doctors, but the expenses are heavy. Gadipalli Narayana Rao who fell chronically ill underwent medical treatment at Visakhapatnam, and has not completely recovered even after 2 years although he spent Rs. 4,000/- and is now a ruined person. In another case also, the medical expenditure was Rs. 1,000/- for treatment of prolonged illness. On the whole 11 families resort to the Government Hospital for medical treatment of major illnesses : the treatment is said to be free, though it is not, and medicines prescribed by the Government doctor are usually costly. At present 6 patients of fever are under medical treatment. The fever is suspected to be malaria.

12. Conclusion :

A study of the social and economic conditions of the Gadabas of Raja Cheruvu Valasa shows their structural maladjustment with the economy of the plains. So long as they do not diversity their occupations and learn special skills appropriate to each, it would not be possible to raise their economic status above the poverty line.

The Gadabas should make full use of the elementary school which is at their door-step. Children who pass 5th standard, can, at no cost, get high school and collegiate and professional education in Bobbili itself. They should use these.

opportunities, and gain skills essential for pursuing trades and callings which are more remunerative.

The hamlet is part of Dibbaguddi Valasa Panchayat (8th ward) : Moyyi Angiramma is the nominated woman Member, and Hanumanthu Subbayya is the elected Member. Moyyi Ramulu is the Vice-President of the Co-operative Credit Society. They should use their positions to influence these bodies, and to get their assistance for the uplift of these tribals.

The Government extends all sorts of help to tribals : but such help they can get if they first help themselves.

Without forsaking their traditional customs and culture, they should learn to take the assistance of voluntary agencies, banks, and government departments to raise their productivity and income, to diversify their occupations, and to see that all able-bodied persons are gainfully employed and the old and sick taken care of.

Just as the Gadabas have to learn much, they have also much to teach the people of the plains.

Firstly, they can teach us much to relieve us of the dowry evil. Gadaba parents do not bother at all to find suitable bride grooms. Instead, it is the youngmen who run after and pursue ladies seeking their hand. And when this reaches the ear of the girl's parent, the parent demands bride money. He knows the boy is in love; he would pay any amount. Until the bride money is paid first, the girl's father does not relent. And thus he succeeds. His sagacity lies in waiting, for an indefinite time, until a suitable match fructifies.

Secondly, Gadaba parents are tolerant towards their children's amourous adventures, and give them wide scope to choose their life-partner. All marriages are love-marriages. The couple come to an understanding first. They may sometimes elope together. The parents view their ranks with philosophical toleration : give their consent, irrespective of their personal feelings, and performs marriage as per the young people's wishes. This is enlightened way of performing marriage which we can profitably learn from the Gadabas.

Thirdly, the Gadabas have found a simple solution to the viles of matrimonial maladjustments. When there is a maladjust-

ment, one of the spouses quits the household: the person who separates pays a nominal penalty. Once the penalty is paid, the separation is accepted by society for ever. There are no complicated divorce laws,

Fourthly, the Gadaba women do not claim their "maintenance" after separation. A woman who deserts her spouse has to stand on her own legs. This is a simple solution.

Fifthly, the Gadabas do not generally practise polygamy but there is no bar against it. They, in their, simple wisdom, know that polygamy, in a free society like theirs, is pragmatically unworkable, and a man who risks polygamy will sooner or later be ditched by his wives.

Sixthly, the Gadabas have a human approach to its own members: for, to err is human. Once the erring member pays the penalty, the Gadabas forgive him and forget his transgression. This sort of corrective contrivance is lacking in civilized communities.

Seventhly, their self-governing community life is egalitarian and democratic. Their chief and the elders are powerful so long as they enjoy the confidence of the common people. If the chief goes wrong, the elders bring him to his knees by defying him. In the same way, any one of the elders, whose arrogance causes the displeasure of the common people, loses his standing in the council of elders and is replaced by another person in whom the people repose confidence. This right to "recall" is one of the basic principles of democratic government which we can learn from the Gadabas.

Eighthly, every individual is loyal to the society symbolised by the chief. This gives them solidarity; this gives them the strength to unite against others. This protects their culture and tradition. Centuries have passed, but their culture has survived all these years.

The simple faith in themselves, their society and their culture, is something we can learn from the Gadabas in order that National Integration becomes a reality and does not remain a mere slogan.